THE SURVEY

MIDMONTHLY

FEBRUARY 15, 1926

Do Women in Industry Need Special Protection?

Frances Perkins *Elizabeth F. Baker*

Private Life or Private Duty for the R. N.

Mary Ross

What is this Adult Education?

Mary Ely *E. C. Lindeman*
Amy Hewes *James E. Russell*
William Orton *A. J. Muste*

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A Glimpse Ahead

IT IS no new situation that confronts the third decade of the present century. Both the fact of crime and the alarm which it occasions are a part of our history—back to the Civil War, back to the foundation of the Republic. The crimewave is a state of mind. Crime is an ever-present reality. Let us then face it and see what we can do about it.

But let us not lose our heads over it. It is here that our more unbridled propagandists have drawn the long-bow too hard. They have shot the community full of their own panicky state of mind as though it were a bandit with a gun at our heads instead of a deep-rooted social problem that we were up against.—*George W. Kirchwey in Is There a Crime Wave?—leading article in the Survey Graphic for March.*

WHAT will deter those who have been caught from further crime? Rigor, repression, brutal punishment, vermin, filth, darkness, fear of the club and the lash and gun—fear, fear, fear? Well, however we may theorize about it, we have tried all that for a hundred years and it has not worked. We are a practical people, not a sentimental one, and the old prison idea is doomed in this day and age because it has not checked crime, but increased it.—*Austin H. MacCormick in The Failure of Fear, March Survey Graphic.*

SCIENCE is not interested in revenge, and science is notoriously opposed to accepting traditional classifications. And psychiatry, the branch of science concerned with aberrant behavior, has no respect for such stratifications of human behavior as "good" and "bad," "criminal" and "insane.'—*Karl A. Menninger, M.D., in Vengeance—or Cure? March Survey Graphic.*

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The Gist of It

READERS who like closed issues rather than open ones, conviction rather than inquiry, certainty rather than experiment, are warned to read no further than this paragraph in the Survey Midmonthly for February 15. For they will find Frances Perkins and Elizabeth Faulkner Baker offering highly controversial evidence in the much-agitated question whether women do or do not need special legislative protection in industry; a group of educators either defining—or proving that you can't define—adult education; a staff writer summing up the bewildering if not chaotic conditions of private nursing service; an episode in the age-old and inconclusive struggle of young men and women with old institutions; the perplexities of a city-planner—all these, and more, unfinished stories of groping after social progress.

ONE of the most remarkable city recreation systems of the country is that of Oakland, across the bay from San Francisco—remarkable for its diversity, its completeness and its energetic leadership. Jay B. Nash who describes it briefly on page 533 is superintendent of recreation. Few eastern cities have gone as far as those of California toward carving out in bold strokes a play program that meets the need of old and young. Mr. Nash suggests the spirit, at least, in which six bits apiece have been made to stretch so far.

MISS LASKER is chairman, Miss Razovsky secretary of the Department of Immigrant Aid of the National Council of Jewish Women. They comment—by precept and cases—on the proposals now pending to liberalize the operation of the quota law (p. 535).

THE recent Interdenominational Student Conference at Evanston brought together a thousand socially-minded young people to tackle insoluble problems. S. M. Keeny, chairman of the Interracial Committee of The Inquiry tells some of the things they discussed and the conclusions they reached (p. 547).

SEVEN a. m. to seven p. m. seven days in the week—that's nursing. Studies made by the New York State Nurses' Association, and other organizations, of the economic and social conditions of the life of the nurse on private duty have brought out some striking facts. Mary Ross of The Survey staff reviews these findings on page 549.

CAROLINE VOSE has been a teacher and is now a journalist, her articles appearing in many magazines. Her sister, Persis Vose, has been doing extensive pioneer work in Maine to help deafened adults and to promote preventive methods for children. She says, "Deafness is a hideous affliction. My experience with it leads me to be willing to do anything to help stamp it out" (p. 552).

LUCILE EAVES who reviews (p. 554) the report on Old Age Pensions recently submitted by the Massachusetts Commission on Pensions, is director of the Research Department of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. She was the director and one of the authors of the survey which resulted in the volume, Aged Clients of Boston Social Agencies, which is one of the outstanding contributions in the field of old age care.

THE Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation recently traced the course of salaries in social work over the period of rising prices and wages up to the present time. The results of this study are presented (p. 556) by Ralph G. Hurlin who is director of the Department.

BEFORE becoming deputy commissioner of Savings Bank Insurance in Massachusetts, Alice H. Grady was an assistant to Louis D. Brandeis, then a Boston attorney, who originated the savings bank insurance idea in his state. On page 559 she tells of the origin and success of the plan.

LEO WOLMAN, who writes of unemployment insurance in England (p. 562) is research director for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. He spent some months in England during the past summer and fall studying the unemployment situation.

MILDRED D. MUDGETT, who gives a picture of family social work being done in Paris garden suburbs (p. 565), is devoting a year to research work in Europe for the National Research Council, concerning legislation affecting the preschool child.

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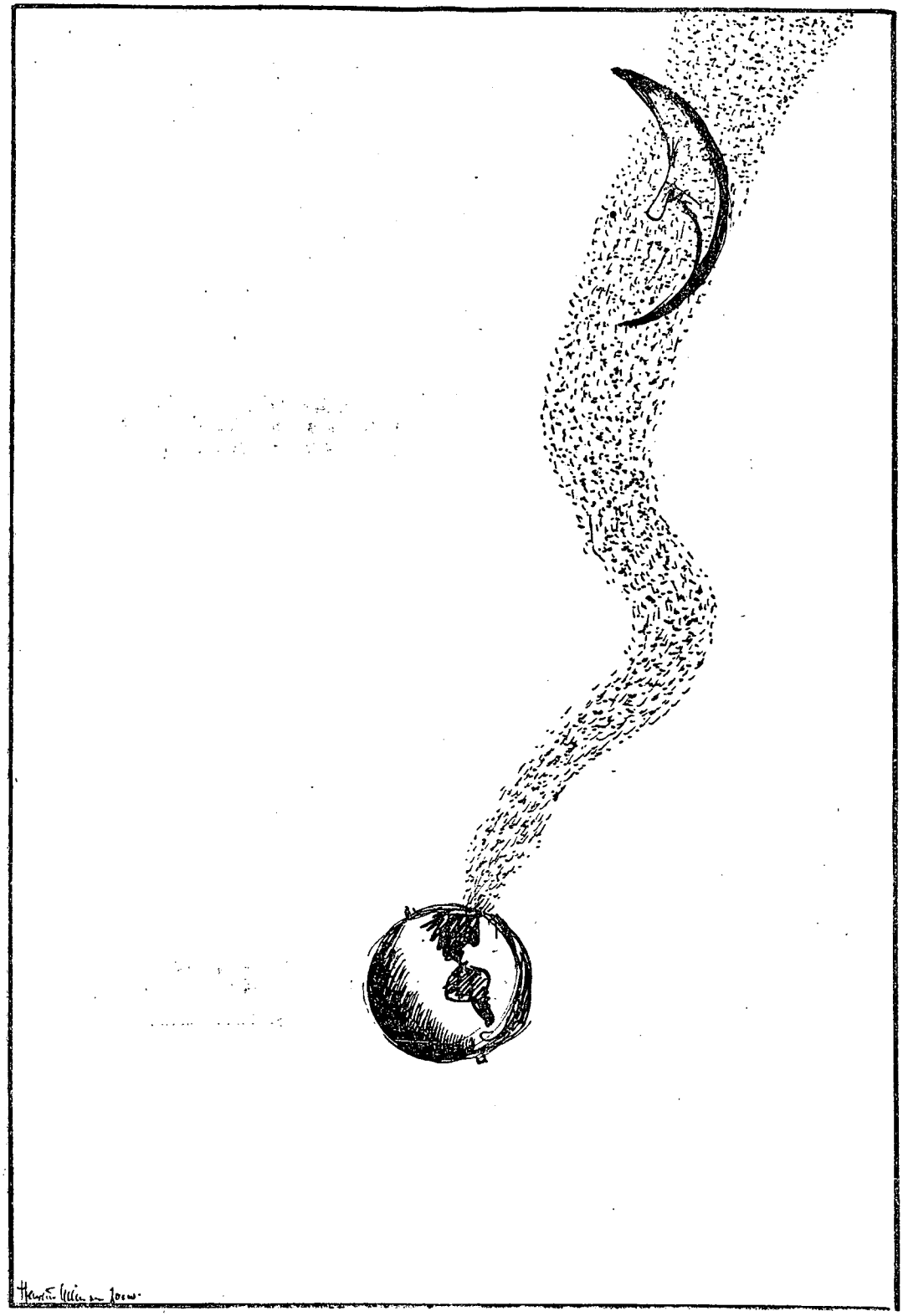

Drawn by Hendrik Willem Van Loon

THE MOON: If this coal strike goes on much longer, I shall ask the good Lord to transfer me to some civilized planet

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THE SURVEY

MIDMONTHLY

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Do Women in Industry Need Special Protection?

Yes—Frances Perkins We don't know—Elizabeth Faulkner Baker

The entire body of protective legislation for women in industry is called in question by the proposed "Lucretia Mott" amendment to the federal constitution, for which the militant Woman's Party is now agitating. It reads: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and in every place subject to its jurisdiction." Here two authorities on the special status of women as industrial wage-earners discuss the issue. Frances Perkins, long a leader in the Consumers' League, a member of the New York State Industrial Board since 1923, has just received the signal honor of appointment as head of that Board. Elizabeth Baker, instructor in economics at Barnard College, recently completed an exhaustive study of Protective Labor Legislation, its enforcement and its effects, published by Columbia University.

AN intelligent evaluation of the laws designed to protect wage-earning women in American industries requires that those who attempt it should hold themselves strictly to a realistic viewpoint. They should weigh each item of the program with reference to the actual conditions of life and work in 1926 and without regard to abstractions however intriguing.

The program of industrial legislation for the protection of wage earning women was initiated because of observed and striking facts; namely, the overwork, exploitation and unhealthful surroundings of the working women who crowded into factories in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Such laws have been maintained during the recent years of improved industrial technique and conditions because of the observed facts that conditions tended to sink to the old levels of exploitation without such laws and in communities where enforcement of the laws was for any reason relaxed. The reason for this tendency to sink back in the face of an improving technique of management is that in every state the number of persons employed in small factories—those having under fifty employes—is vastly larger than the number employed in the big industrial plants where scientific management can and has developed and where the strength of the trade union has made itself felt. In New York state alone 71 per cent of all the women factory workers are in factories employing fifty or less persons.

Recently the validity of this program, in which such meagre and painful progress has been made over many years, has been challenged by certain groups of feminist thinkers on the ground that it has worked harm rather than good for women workers by discriminating against women and making their employment in competition with men more difficult. This objection overlooks the United States Census figures which show a constant increase in the number of gainfully employed women throughout the country during the period in question. In theory it also assumes that women are consistently competing with men for industrial opportunity and ignores two facts: *first,* that as industry has become more finely differentiated and divided the best economic opportunities for women as wage earners have developed in specialized trades and occupations where women are preferred and usually excel men in skill and competence; and, *second,* that industrial work rarely offers opportunity for a satisfying career. Those who know industry best testify that factories are operated for profit and that workers in them are a part of the machinery doing non-creative

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work for which a certain wage is paid. This may afford economic independence but it is not a career.

THE industrial laws for women vary in different states but in general they fall into five classes:

1. Laws regulating the hours of labor and establishing a short work day.
2. Laws requiring certain sanitary and health equipment for women employes—seats, dressing rooms, separate toilets, rest rooms, etc.
3. Laws prohibiting night work for women and laws regulating employment immediately before and after child-birth.
4. Laws looking to the establishment of a legal or living wage for women.
5. Laws prohibiting labor of women at certain trades or occupations known to involve a special hazard.

Today every state in the Union with one exception has some kind of labor laws for women. These laws touch the lives of some four million factory women. Instead of being a handicap and offering a discrimination to women these laws have the contrary effect. Industry is very largely a man's world, arranged and operated by men and with its conceptions of comfort and convenience based on man's physical structure, habits and social status. So small a matter as the traditional and usual height of a workbench is based on the average male stature and is too high for the comfort of the average woman worker. The woman wage earner enters a misfit world. The laws which reduce her fatigue by limiting hours, requiring seats, prohibiting night work and guaranteeing her a living wage are all aids to her in her struggle to work with health and happiness and to compete fairly with men who have by habit and greater experience most of the advantages in any competitive struggle. Her only hope of a reasonably satisfactory life in industry is on the basis of the prevention of fatigue by short hours, good wages and healthful conditions.

The physical and biological differences between men and women are so fundamental both in structure and in function that they cannot be ignored in considering the life of the two groups in industry where strength and skill are for sale and used for profit. A mass of information and learned opinion has been gathered over many years showing that women are more likely than men to suffer injury from the strain of industry. Dr. Alice Hamilton of the Harvard Medical School, in a recent article, says that "investigations have shown a lower resistance on the part of women to the strain and hazard of industry." Mortality figures in Fall River, Mass.—a textile town with many women workers—are significant. Let me quote from the report Conditions of Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States, Woman's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, 1921, Vol. 4:

> . . . These figures show that women in general have a lower death rate than men in most age groups, *while women employed in the mills have in almost every age group a much higher death rate than the mill men.*

The total death rate in age group 15 years to 44 years was as follows:

Non-mill operatives	
Men 2.04	Women 1.23
Mill operatives	
Men 2.63	Women 3.20

Studies of absenteeism due to illness among industrial workers show conclusively that the sickness rate is higher among women workers than among men workers. A recent study by the New York Department of Labor shows 101 cases of sickness per thousand male employes and 154 cases of sickness per thousand female workers. Moreover, the time lost per man was 0.9 days and per woman 1.6 days.

Those facts reinforce the individual knowledge of persons experienced in industrial life that women need short hours and good sanitary conditions as a preliminary to a good economic life and are arguments for such special industrial legislation as the states may develop for women.

BECAUSE men have in many instances created excellent industrial conditions for themselves without legislation and through the medium of the trade union and the strike, it is often urged that women should achieve these undisputed needs by the same methods. Women workers, however, are not well organized. In the state of New York only 13 per cent of the working women are in trade unions and if the percentage of women in industry increases as it has in the past ten years and the percentage of organized women increases as it has in the past ten years, it will still take 129 years, 2 months and 26 days to organize them all. Self-protection through unionization is a slow method for those who live and work today.

The reasons are numerous, some of them obvious: First, the great majority of women go into industry temporarily between school and matrimony and have no impetus to affiliate with unions and make present sacrifices for future good they expect never to share. Second, most women are so insufficiently paid that the necessary dues to union membership are an impossible drain. Third, most women workers are so young that their judgment and realization of the important gains of collective bargaining have not developed. It will be a very long time before trade unions can force the desired industrial conditions for women.

The trade union women, moreover, are the leaders in the movement for the realization of those conditions by special legislation. This is perhaps the overwhelming argument for this method of progress—on practical grounds—on democratic grounds, even on strictly feminist grounds. The women who suffer these conditions in their own bodies have most at stake and have also the best opportunity to judge methods and results. They would be the first to protest if protective legislation were handicapping them. If to give women opportunity to have the deciding voice in their own affairs is one of the aims of the feminist movement, then surely this voice of the working woman, articulate, clear, conscious and courageous through organization, should be enough to settle the matter of method in securing and maintaining needed industrial standards. Mary Anderson, chief of the Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, has often pointed out (and recently in the Monitor, Vol. VII, No. 4):

> It is in the states that have good laws for women workers that there exist not only the best conditions for women in industry but the most important examples of women's advance into new fields of employment.

The night work laws and the prohibitory laws have perhaps given most concern to those who have advocated regulatory industrial legislation. It is my own opinion that very few of the strictly prohibitory laws are justified by facts. They prohibit for the most part the labor of women in occupations which they do not follow in this country—mining, bootblacking, etc. A few relate to occupations believed to be hazardous to health. Such is the New York

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state law prohibiting the labor of women in metal polishing which has a high tuberculosis rate. The cure for this kind of industrial risk is better sanitary measures, not prohibition. In cases where a health hazard affects women peculiarly—and such exist in connection with some chemicals—prohibition is justified and should be established. Night work laws must be administered with good sense and for the most part they are. The present organization of society requires many women to play the dual role of wage earner and home maker. For that reason night work—always undesirable for anyone—bears with special severity on women who under those conditions tend to work all night and discharge family and home duties most of the day. The increase of married women in industry—two million of them according to the last census—points to the wisdom of such regulation. No one who has known a town in which the women work on the night shift and the men on the day shift—and that arrangement always seems to develop unless forbidden by law—can forget the pathos of sleepy women, haggard and drawn, frying potatoes and scolding children throughout a day broken only by snatches of sleep in a chair by the stove. When night shifts are forbidden for women, the industry makes the necessary adjustments after a time and women are the gainers in the long run. A few women printers in New York—eighteen all told—have made a *cause celêbre* over their loss of work when the night work law was passed in that state. However, when the law was specifically amended to exempt them, only three women, so far as the Department of Labor has been able to learn, ever returned to their work on night shifts. That industry too had evidently adjusted itself to the new rule and absorbed the women in the day shifts.

The New York city conductorettes, who, it is claimed, were dismissed when a law was passed regulating their hours and prohibiting night shifts for them, afford an example of a war-time work undertaken by women and quite naturally given back to the former male employes when they returned from the war. The company in that case had a plain policy of lay-offs of the women in groups in effect at the time the laws was passed. The law only hastened very slightly the process of eliminating the women which had already begun.

THE increasing skill of women in mechanical industry has made it clear that women are there to stay. If that is so, the factory will become their life, their environment, for most of their waking hours. The industrial legislation now existing in our states has been a great factor in making working conditions so tolerable that women have been able to achieve what success they have. An industrial organization adapted to women's needs and abilities will not only use women workers to greatest advantage but will give them the best opportunity for economic success for health and for happiness.

Progress by a combination of (1) employer's leadership for the sake of efficiency, (2) trade union organization for collective bargaining, and (3) minimum industrial standards set by law, is clearly indicated as a practical working program for the successful adaptation of industry to women's physical and economic needs. FRANCES PERKINS

II. We Need More Knowledge

ARE there valid grounds for the special protection of women in industry? Disagreement on the part of women themselves has forced this question to the front when it appeared to have been settled a quarter of a century ago. The courts have repeatedly approved laws enacted on these grounds, organized labor has urged them, and employers have accepted them. Philanthropic bodies of women have devoted years to carrying them safely through the fires of legislature and judiciary.

But despite all this, opposition has grown. The question is reopened and must be reanswered. Fresh analysis is imperative in the face of the vast economic changes that the past twenty-five years have wrought.

I wish to state at the outset that I am not and have never been a spokesman of the Woman's Party. This article is a brief summary of my extended analysis of the material at this time available of the causes and effects of special legislation for women in industry. I reached no final conclusion because the data are insufficient. I urge that we need more knowledge of legislative effects and wherever the facts take us we must go without prejudiced alignments and without partisanship.

What, first of all, are the reasons for the past support of these protective laws? "Physical inferiority" of women, their "potential motherhood" and the "welfare of the race" are phrases that suggest the answer. These concepts have been basic in the minds of the judiciary as is clear from a review of their decisions. Studies of sickness in New York state have been submitted, showing that women suffer 50 per cent more sickness than men. Working women are young—over 40 per cent of them being less than twenty-five years of age and about one-half of these under twenty. One-fifth of all employed females are married. These facts have rendered women's union membership small and their bargaining power weak, so that they are unable to defend themselves against the manoeuvres of unscrupulous employers. This is a menace to their health and to the health of their children.

WHY, then, the growing opposition to special protective legislation for women? In a sentence, it is that only half the truth has been told.

The protestants explain that these laws do not always protect—that they too often shackle instead. They urge that women have small chance before their profit-seeking employers to secure desirable occupation when there are restrictions placed upon what they can offer, while men can give their services on their own terms. Other things being equal, they say, men will always be preferred if these laws prevail, leaving women to earn a scanty living out of the left-over jobs—a part of the luckless mass of underpaid, unskilled and unorganized workers who toil long and hope little.

If society is to be protected against the raids of power-driven machinery, the critics of special legislative protection say, we must guard *all* of the human victims—the men as well as the women, the fathers as well as the mothers. We must guard all those who cannot protect themselves whoever they may be. In this way only can weaker bargain-

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ers, not for women, have an equal opportunity before employers.

Closer inquiry into the sources of this protest reveals the fact that women in the wage-earning classes are most often pressed into industry by the economic defeat of their husbands and fathers, by their illness or death from exposure and over-work, or their inability to bargain for a living wage. Studies of the Federal Children's Bureau, for example, show high correlations between the low earnings of fathers and infant mortality—the number of infant deaths falls sharply as fathers' earnings increase. Furthermore, while we hear much of the strength and pugnacity of trade unions, wage earners in this country are at the very most only 25 per cent organized. That is one in every four. There are many more men than women who are unable to demand human and economic justice before their employers.

This fact is recognized in the minimum wage laws of England and all European countries in that they apply both to men and to women. These laws are designed to protect the low paid wage-earners, their sex being considered beside the main point.

In the matter of health, while women, for reasons insufficiently known as yet, have more illnesses than men, the physical disabilities of men are enormous. Tuberculosis may almost be considered a man's disease. Although young women between fifteen and nineteen years of age are from 0.3 per cent to 60 per cent more tubercular than young men, males from twenty years of age to the end of their lives are all the way from 20 to 300 per cent more tubercular than females. During the twenty-five years from forty-five to seventy, three times as many men have tuberculosis as women. It appears to be true also that men cannot work where they are likely to be lead-poisoned without sharp danger of harming their children; and inguinal hernia is "the greatest single frailty of the American [male] worker."

These facts command attention; they make more understandable the contention that the welfare of society cannot be promoted by laws for the protection of women alone.

This view is accepted by many of the special protectionist school who nevertheless contend that special laws for women are a blessing because women need them more than do men, and because they may be a stepping stone to the legal protection of all workers.

The rising opposition maintains that these laws are too often a blessing only in name; that they constitute a hollow support like that of the pedestal on which women have been "chivalrously" placed throughout the ages.

The point of the matter appears to turn upon whether or not women predominate in the occupations or industries to which these laws apply. At least this seems to be true in New York's experience, and New York is our greatest industrial state. Where women are in the majority both men and women are likely to be protected by laws enacted for women. Readjustment of the plant for the majority necessarily includes the minority. Employers thus learn a new efficiency in the conservation of human life.

On the other hand, where women are in the minority in the occupation or industry to which special laws for them apply, the effect is likely to be the reverse of protection. Here they may well fear for the security of their positions, for the plant will probably continue to operate according to custom or to the bargain with the majority. It will not be readjusted for the minority. If women are forbidden to conform to the bargain, their hold on their jobs is lost. They may have to drop out of the running.

It is, then, the minorities of women who find direct cause to resent these sex-discriminatory laws. Through superior skill or opportunity they have developed the strength to dignify their relations with their employers, and sex-discriminatory laws are a menace to them. Their economic losses are tremendous, and these losses are felt by other women workers all along the line. For it is these minorities who are leading the way for other women; they are building the ladder upon which greater numbers of women may climb to a place in the sun.

IT is worth while to follow the experience of some of these minorities. That of the women printers in New York state is instructive. Since newspaper offices fall into the category of factories under the law, the maximum 54-hour week for women in factories passed in 1913 and the prohibition against night work applied to women printers. The most conspicuous effect of this application of the law was the repeal of it in 1921, resulting from the persistent contention of the women it affected that it was pushing them down. They pled that they were losing their places on the seniority lists, and that the chances for day work are only one in ten as compared with those for the night (because of the preponderance of morning papers that are printed at night). Exploitation of night workers is impossible, they urged, for by union agreement shifts are shorter and wages higher for the night than for the day. Also it was agreed that life may easily have more attractions when one can work in the cool of the evening and be off duty for rest and recreation during the day.

In November 1921, after these women had won their case, the New York Bureau of Women in Industry investigated the printing trades to ascertain the results of the greater freedom of women printers. Considerable prejudice against women on the part of union men and foremen was discovered, so that women were not being employed in large numbers. No shifts in their employment had been made among the sixty-eight women in up-state newspaper offices. But the change in New York city during this brief six months period, even in the face of union prejudice, was striking. One-half of the thirty-five women proofreaders, linotypists and hand compositors had already changed the nature of their employment as a result of their release from the law. It is unfortunate that no second study has been made to trace the trend of these changes.

Women street car conductors and others in the transportation service also came under New York's statutory supervision in 1919 ,and another study of effects was made by the state Bureau of Women in Industry. The factory law again had been applied without regard to the peculiarities of the industry and the astonishing findings were that of the nearly three thousand women employed, the work of but 17 per cent was such as could be continued in observation of the new law. In other words, 83 per cent of the women had to be entirely prohibited from work or be shifted. And upon further analysis the work of only 4 per cent of these women *could* be shifted so that they could be retained under the law!

The seniority system, by which those longest in the service had their choice of runs, made it impossible for women to qualify if they could not serve their time on the less desirable night runs. (The fact (*Continued on page* 582)

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Six Bits Apiece

By Jay B. Nash

THIS is a story of what the Recreation Department of one western city provides in the way of year-round playground and recreation centers for its people—for seventy-five cents per capita.

It is a story of a department which supplies wholesome healthful play within walking distance of *all* the children of *Oakland, California,* and whose aim is to stimulate and guide older children and adults in the proper use of leisure time.

It is a story of a recreation department whose activities are sufficiently varied to meet the following group problems:

Small child—Here vigorous exercise is recognized as one of the bases of health. Fortunately the game has a by-product of exercise—an antidote for the mechanically propelled modern life. The backyards, school and neighborhood playgrounds solve this problem.

Adolescent Boy and Girl—Delinquency is largely misused spare time. Its solution is seen largely through wholesome recreational opportunities. These opportunities must be provided in the evening and should be largely cost covering.

Family Units—It is recognized that the tendency of modern life is to draw the family apart. Opportunity for family unit recreation is essential. It should be also largely cost covering.

It is a story of year-round playgrounds within reach of every child—backyard playgrounds for homes, evening dramatics, municipal costume room, bonarro courses, golf courses, water sports, summer camps, picnic grounds, tea rooms and a varied service bureau.

But it did not start out with all these types of activities.

Small Beginnings

In 1907 a small group of women known as The Oakland Club conceived the idea and persuaded the city officials to appropriate the sum of $750 for two small playgrounds that were operated for a period of one month the first summer with a total attendance of 595. Today there are 62 centers with an average daily attendance of over 30,000.

The notable thing in regard to the start is that the committee of women insisted on placing the responsibility of providing the funds where it belonged, namely, the tax levying body of the city. They did not have a tag day, a food sale or a campaign of solicitation. If they had started raising money that way it is likely that they could have continued to raise money thus for many years. Although small, the whole movement was dignified by being a part of the city government. It continued to assume that every child had a right to a place to *play near home* just as he had a right to a *school near home.*

In 1909 an official commission was appointed by the mayor and in 1911, when a new charter was adopted, it provided for a board of playground directors of five members, who were appointed for terms of six years and were to serve without compensation.

About 1911 five pieces of land, part of the existing public park system, were designated by the city council as children's playgrounds. Later numerous other plots were added by purchase or gift.

In 1914 an agreement was effected with the Board of Education whereby ten school grounds were to be operated as children's playgrounds, the two boards sharing expense of this operation like and like.

Only in 1924 was this plan extended to include all school grounds—the Board of Education now paying for the operation of school playgrounds on school days and the Board of Playground Directors paying for the operation on non-school days, namely Saturdays, Sundays and holidays and vacations.

Many people have asked: "How was this cooperation brought about?" "How can we do it in our community?"

There is no simple recipe for cooperation, neither is there a complex recipe. There is no recipe at all. But a few basic facts might be set down.

One of the reasons why cooperation was difficult lies in the legal principle contained in the phrase *delegatus non potest delegare*—which in short is that delegated power cannot be delegated. This applies to the subject at hand in that school boards, park boards and playground boards once delegated authority cannot subdelegate it.

Since this delegation of power was impossible, methods of cooperation between the existing authorities had to be worked out. In attacking the problem we followed the feet-under-the-same-table plan—simply sat down together and said: "Here's our problem. We must have playgrounds within walking distance of every child and recreational opportunities for all. How can we all help in the solution?" The results show the product of united action.

Municipal Camps

In 1919, in spite of charter limitations, the first summer camp was opened. Its governing body was a group of citizens, an unofficial body which ran the camp for two years, borrowed money to put in the first equipment and solicited labor to erect the first buildings. The Recreation Department, of course, did much of the work in the way of registrations and actual management, yet the committee was financially responsible. Later charter changes made it possible for the city to operate the camp.

While the first camp was planned on an area of about ten acres, when the third camp was started in 1924 an area of approximately 200 acres was secured. The new camp is 286 miles from the city.

About 180 people attended the first camp in 1919; today the three camps are capable of accommodating, in two week periods, five thousand people a summer. The camps are largely family camps, although a number of supervised camps for boys and girls are operated for various periods during the summer.

The camps are run on a cooperative basis where each person in camp helps. The work done by the campers is done by groups in rotation and the working together has been enjoyed as much as the playing together.

What is provided?

Board—plain but the best, including fresh fruit, vegetables and milk. *Tents*—with army cots and mattresses, the campers bringing their own blankets. *Sanitary provisions*—best modern type. *Nurse*—trained in the problems of

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handling large numbers. *Two life guards*—the men not only guard the pools, but teach people to swim. *Playground director*—to care for the small children, thus relieving the mothers, during certain hours of the day. *Nature guide*—to assist the campers in the enjoyment of the out-of-doors. *Hike director*—to organize hikes, arrange over-night excursions, etc. (a trip is made into Yosemite Valley from one of the camps every three days). Manager, clerical help, storekeeper, postmaster, chef, cooks, caretakers, etc., a staff, in all, of about twenty-five people.

What do the people do in these camps?

Well, first of all, there is the great out-of-doors. That is really all one needs for a vacation. If you must have more, there are swimming, horseback riding, games, story telling, evening campfires, etc. We draw the line at just one thing and that is dancing. It's a long story why, but it contains a good reason.

This is a municipal camp!—Not a charity camp, nor a convalescent camp—but a camp for people who love the quiet of the out-of-doors and are willing to live simply and cooperatively. For families where the members love to take their vacation together. For people who love the mountains rather than the "respectability" that comes with paying high prices for staying at city hotels in the mountains and the cost for two weeks, including transportation, is this:

For children 3- 5 years	$ 8.00
For children 6-10 years	15.65
For children 11-14 years	24.75
For adults	26.25

Last year the camp paid all expenses and put aside $2,700 for replacement of buildings and equipment. It did not cost the city a cent and almost three thousand people came back to their work with a new grip on life. It cost them little more than to live at home.

Educational Dramatics

In 1919 a department of educational dramatics was started with a worker giving a half day three times a week to the work. Today the work has grown until in the summer there is a director, two assistants, a story teller and a costumer, all giving full time. It is a story of dramatics for the participants, rather than for the spectator.

The May Day, the Harvest Festival and various civic and patriotic occasions are appropriately celebrated on all the playgrounds.

Industrial Athletics

In 1920 a special worker interviewed the heads of a number of industrial plants to find out their attitude in regard to joining a movement to provide more recreational opportunities for the workers. Ten plants responded favorably. Volley ball was the opening wedge. Driveways and adjacent lots were utilized for courts.

A central association was soon formed and individual organizations within the plants provided ways and means to supply equipment for their activities. This first year about seven hundred and fifty workers participated in the sports.

Today an association which reaches thirty-five plants, the Industrial Athletic Association, sponsors a recreational program for men and women in all seasonal activities. Over ten thousand individual workers participated in a year.

As a culmination of the year's activities a sports carnival is held in the municipal auditorium where all activities are demonstrated. Over two thousand participated in the last carnival.

The best results have been found to come from movements in the plants that are supported by the workers themselves. For that reason the chief aim of the Recreation Department in its work among the industries is to develop leaders within the plants who can act as leaven to the various groups of workers.

Other Provisions for Play

In 1922 the board of directors of one of the settlement houses gave the Recreation Department its land and property for the purpose of establishing a recreation center. The next year two other settlement boards turned over their property to the department for the same purpose. These buildings as remodeled contain gymnasiums, game rooms, reading rooms, club rooms and living quarters for the workers. Two of the centers have been opened and the third is just ready to open as this is written. The activities carried on are largely self-supporting.

The evening work is in an experimental stage but we have justification in feeling that much of the juvenile delinquency of the community can be eliminated by substituting wholesome activities at these various evening centers.

In 1922 approximately 250 acres were purchased for a municipal golf course. This course was completed and opened on September 3, 1923. It is an up-to-date golf course approximately 6,500 yards long with grass greens and grass fairways. There is a clubhouse with over 700 lockers for men and 150 for women. There are shower baths, golf professional shop, lobby, restaurant, etc. It is fully serviced by electricity for lighting, heating the building, and heating water for the showers.

During the first twelve months over 50,000 people made use of the course. A charge of fifty cents is made for the play. From the start the course was approximately self sustaining.

In 1922 plans were made to have all of the high school gymnasiums open in the evening so that the teams from the various banks, shops and industrial plants could use them for basketball and other forms of wholesome recreation. A small charge is made here so that adequate supervision is given this activity without being a drain on the rest of the department.

In 1922 a model "backyard playground" with equipment was designed and a pamphlet printed showing how it could be constructed and used. Individuals are urged to provide home playgrounds. The Recreation Department, on request, goes into the various homes in the community and suggests backyard lay-outs adapted to the needs of the children.

The Recreation Department maintains a service bureau through which permits may be obtained for baseball and football fields, evening gymnasiums, fire places, picnic grounds and other types of facilities which may fit the needs of the various groups. An information bureau assists fraternal or patriotic organizations or conventions in planning their recreational activities, also advises with any organizations or industries in the city relative to play or recreational activities.

The past ten years have been a history of cooperation, the Playground Board, School Board, Park Board, United States Forest Service, churches, industries and individual homes working to one end. That is why six bits goes so far in Oakland.

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Shall We Give Alien Families a Chance?

By Florina Lasker

Our immigration laws now encourage the separation of families. Men who came to the United States before the Quota Law of 1924 and have toiled patiently and in good faith to make a new home here find themselves compelled to live alone or give up the struggle because the quotas are so small that entrance is barred indefinitely to their wives and children. Miss Lasker here states the case for the Wadsworth-Perlman bills now before Congress, and on the following pages Cecilia Razovsky has brought together some of the human evidence that supports them.

THE Immigration Act of 1924 has been in operation over a year. That it has accomplished the purposes for which it was enacted is a fact which must be recognized not only by those who advocated the new law but by those who opposed it as well. But even the most ardent restrictionists will admit, I take it, that the existing Act can be improved—that at present it works certain hardships which might be eliminated without defeating the purposes for which it was passed. The gravest of these could, I believe, be eliminated by amending the law to provide:

(1) For the admission outside of quota of an immigrant who is the husband, wife or unmarried minor child of a declarant who entered this country before July 1, 1924—the date when the Quota Act became effective.

(2) For the admission outside of quota of an immigrant who is the husband of an American citizen. (At present immigrant wives of American citizens—male—are admissible outside of quota, but immigrant husbands of American citizens—female—are only given preference within the quota.)

(3) For the admission outside of quota of an immigrant who is the aged parent of an American citizen. (At present such parents are given preference *within the quota.*)

(4) For the admission outside of quota of an immigrant, between the age of 18 to 21, who is the unmarried child of an American citizen. (At present the unmarried child under 18 years of age of an American citizen is admissible as a non-quota immigrant. Children, between 18 and 21, of American citizens are given preference *within the quota.*)

For reasons which are obvious, we regard the first amendment suggested as the most important of the four, i. e.: the amendment providing for the admission, without respect to quota limitations, of the wives and unmarried minor children of residents of the United States who entered this country before July 1, 1924. That some such reform is being advocated even by ardent restrictionists is in itself significant. Surely all those who believe in the institution of the family—and we assume that this includes the majority of our citizens—must advocate such a reform in the law, for no one familiar with the working of the existing Act can deny that the present law operates directly against the reunion of families, cutting off thousands of women and children from husbands and fathers in this country who came here fully expecting to send for their families as soon as they had established themselves in the new land.

Are we justified in reserving for citizens only the right to have their wives and children with them in the country of their residence? Granted that there are certain rights and privileges which may properly be reserved for citizens, is this one of them? Are we ready to say to non-citizens—men who have contributed perhaps to the industrial and cultural life of this country even though they have not yet been drawn into its political structure—"Take your choice. Go back to the countries from which you came, for we will not let your wives and children join you here, or remain alone in this country where you are now comfortably established, for it is better under the circumstances to forget the wives and children left behind?" Whether we realize it or not, we are in effect holding out these alternatives to thousands of men who, for various reasons, cannot become citizens of the United States, but who nevertheless have established their residence here and are naturally eager to have their wives and children join them in this country.

We who are actively engaged in immigrant aid work have spoken to hundreds of men who, faced with these two alternatives, have accepted the one or the other. Some there are who, satisfied that they must abandon all hope of ever bringing their wives and children to the United States, have elected to return to their native lands, even though this meant beginning life anew—often life without the possibility of eking out a decent existence. Some there are who, satisfied of the impossibility of having their families join them in this country, have accepted their fate, consoling themselves by forming new ties—thus virtually abandoning their families abroad. In numbers of cases we have known men to commit bigamy deliberately, feeling themselves no longer bound to their wives abroad since it was obviously impossible to secure the entry of their families to the United States. Such a procedure shocks us of course, but can we, who countenance the existing law, hold ourselves quite guiltless under the circumstances?

I should perhaps have mentioned a third choice which is open to those men who are eligible for citizenship, though it must be remembered in this connection that many aliens who have been in this country five years or more will never be able to qualify as citizens of the United States. Obviously, however, those who have the necessary ability and education and who are otherwise eligible for citizenship may solve their dilemma by becoming naturalized citizens of this country. Thus we are developing a new class of citizens—men who are not "citizens by choice," but "citizens by coercion." And if such men lower the standard of our citizenship we have only ourselves to blame.

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These Families Want a Chance

Footnotes on the Immigration Law assembled by Cecilia Razovsky

Each of these scraps of conversation is taken from the records of one of the New York agencies dealing with the bewilderments and quandaries of the foreign-born. Each represents a knot of unhappiness tied fast by the restrictions of the Quota Law. Each represents a family dilemma that would be solved by the new legislation discussed on the preceding page.

"CAN you help me?" asked Mr. P. J. recently as he pulled out the photograph of his little girl. "How can I bring my daughter to this country?"

"Where is she?"

"She is in Mexico with her mother. I came here in 1923 and I took out my first papers immediately. I bought a home in Schenectady, where I have a good position, because I thought my family would come to me within a few months. But I am selling my home and trying to find a job in Texas so I can visit my family in Mexico. Oh, please have you time to listen to my whole story?"

"I have been very severely tried by the new Immigration Law, which prevents my wife and child from coming to me in the United States. I am an electro-technical engineer and, according to the old law, I was permitted to enter the United States and bring my wife and child, because there were exceptions made for engineers. I thought it would be better to go first and prepare a home for them, so I left my wife and little girl in Prague. Immediately after my arrival in 1923, I found a position with the Z— Electric Company, and I sent an affidavit to my wife at once. But the quota for Czecho-Slovakia was already full for 1923, so my wife could not secure an America visa. The company with which I am employed wrote to the American minister in regard to my case and he promised to do all he could. But in the meantime the new Immigration Law was passed and the quota became much smaller. So my wife could not get a visa. She was very unhappy because of the separation and her letters filled me with constant anguish. Then I decided to send her and my child to Cuba, where I went in October 1924 to meet them. I tried to get a six months permit for my wife to visit me in the United States, but the Consul refused to give us this visa. I then decided to find myself a job in Havana in order that I might live with my family. But I was unable to do so, so I had to return to the United States."

"Then I considered bringing her over to Canada, but the Canadian officials said I cannot do so because I am not a Canadian resident. When I learned that farmers are permitted to go to Canada, I was ready to leave my work—for which I had prepared myself at the University—and to go to work on a farm. But as I have not enough money to buy a farm in Canada I decided that plan would not do any good."

"It makes us all so unhappy to be so far away from each other that I then wrote my wife to go to Mexico. I thought I might find a job in a state near the border of Mexico, and then I could visit my family from time to time. It will be three years and nine months before I can receive my final citizenship papers and although I have started to pay for a home in Schenectady, it will be better for me to be near the border."

"Will you tell me what steps I must take to visit Mexico? My wife and child are now in Tampico. I don't know whether the plan will work. Maybe I cannot get a job in Texas. Besides, it is most expensive to maintain a family in a foreign land. It is a terrible situation. I don't know how I can stand being separated from my little girl all this time. I don't know how my wife will stand it in a strange country, where she has no friends. My little girl will soon be five years old and will not receive an American education. I think she should learn to speak English and have the education of American public schools."

"What can I do? Maybe it will be better for me to leave this country altogether and try to find a job as engineer in Mexico, but they tell me there is not much opportunity for me in Mexico. Please tell me what I shall do."

"WILL you do me a favor?" asked Mrs. K. one morning.

"Certainly," she was assured.

"I want you should write a letter to my husband. He is in Berlin now. Tell him I would be glad if he would come here, but the law will not let him come. He does not believe me. He writes me terrible letters and says I do not care for him any more."

"How is it you came to this country before your husband," she was asked.

"You see, my husband served in the Russian army during the war and I was notified that he had been killed in a battle. So my sisters wrote me in 1922 that I should come to them in the United States as I was all alone in Latvia. I came with my daughter of 17 two years ago. I began to work in a cloak factory and am making a good living. My daughter is going to school. In February of this year I received a letter from Berlin telling me that my husband is alive. He had been a prisoner and then when he was freed he went to look for us. You can imagine how happy we all were to find out he is still alive. But now what good does that do me? I sent him an affidavit right away. I only have my first papers and he belongs in the quota for Latvia. . . . . Yes, yes, I know the quota is only 142 for the whole year. But my husband doesn't understand. He thinks I have found someone else and that I do not want him any more. His letters make me feel so bad that I don't know what to do. He has no work in Berlin and he does not know if they will let him stay there. So I want you please to write my husband and tell him about the law and maybe he will believe me when I say that I love him and not anybody else, and that it is not my blame that he cannot come here. I am going to night school and I'll study hard to be a citizen.

"Don't you think I talk good English already?"

"TELL Mr. B. I can see him now," and the clerk directs to our desk a jauntily dressed young man, rather overdoing the role of the gay Lothario—a part which he evidently is proud to play.

"Good morning, Mr. B.," we began. "We have a letter here from our correspondent in Jugo Slavia. Your wife is very much worried because she does not receive any letters from you."

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He shuffled his feet. "Why should I write to her," he replied. "I send her money and she never answers me. All she does is write complaining letters to all the societies about me."

"Now, Mr. B., it is natural for your wife to complain if she doesn't hear from you. When did you last send her money?"

"Oh," he hesitated, "Well"—rather defiantly—"I haven't sent her any money since Easter, but I've been out of work and I had a dentist's bill," he stammered.

"But we understand that you have money to spend on amusements, Mr. B." He began to bluster.

"What business is it of yours anyway? I am a young man. Haven't I got a right to enjoy myself? I work hard, I am a shoe cutter. I haven't got a home. I can't bring my wife here or my child. The U. S. A. won't let me. I have to board around with all kinds of Missuses—if you think that's fun. Ain't I entitled to some pleasure? Is it anything wrong if I take a girl from my shop to the movies once in a while? Sure, the girl knows I'm married. Lots of us married men, whose wives are in Europe, take out the girls. Everybody knows we can't bring our wives here. Ain't we got a right to live like other human beings?"

"I know where you found out about me. From my wife's sister—she's always coming to my shop and making trouble for me."

"Well, Mr. B., but you really are responsible for your wife and child, and you ought to be sending them support each month, instead of spending all your money on yourself—don't you think?"

Mr. B. cogitated. "I guess you're right. But I got so mad at my wife's family for nagging at me that I decided I would stop writing."

He finally agreed to send his wife regularly a stipulated sum. "We'll tell your wife to write you nice friendly letters, Mr. B."

"How about your citizenship?"

"I got my first papers but it'll be three and a half years before I can take out my second papers."

He lingered in the doorway. "But I ain't so bad, you know. I think my wife's all right. I got a smart little boy too, and we'd have a good home if she was here. I make $35 a week regular."

His story began to vary now that we had his confidence. "You think I am doing wrong cause I take out a girl to the show. What would you say about some of the other men in our shop? One man I know has two families—a wife and four children in Europe, and a wife and two children here. He says nobody can do him anything because his wife can't come here to take him to court. And some of the others live with their Missuses. But I just wanna good time. I ain't thirty years old yet."

MR. H. K., an Armenian, had to move his family after the second massacre at Marash, in Turkish Armenia, to Cairo, Egypt. He is a chemist, and so he secured a visa for himself and his family to emigrate to the United States in 1923; exempt from the quota.

"But just before we were taking the steamer," he said, "my youngest child began to suffer from some sickness. We decided that my wife should remain with the baby, one year old, until it got well. I and my two children, a girl of seven and a boy of five and one-half years, came to the United States in July 1923. I sent my passport back to my wife because her visa was on the same passport, but our baby did not get well quickly. At last in March, 1924, when the baby was all well again, my wife went to the Consul for a visa. But then the Consul said: My wife must prove she did not go to the United States with me in 1923. So she wrote to me and sent back the passport asking me to get a stamp from the American officials here to show I came without her. It took me a long time to get a letter from the Commissioner of Immigration to show that I came alone with my two children. Then I got a letter from the Red Star Line too. I sent all these papers to my wife, but by that time the new Immigration Laws was passed, and now my wife must wait for her turn in the Armenian quota. They let only 124 Armenians in the quota every year.

"I am a chemist, I have good work. But I cannot take care of my little children myself, so I board them with friends in Springfield, Massachusetts. I have to work in New York city, so I do not see my children often. And my poor wife is in Cairo with the baby.

"I keep three homes with my money, and still I am all alone here."

"FOR two years my days have been one long attempt after another to overcome the difficulties of the Immigration Laws that have separated me from my family. My two sons are here; my wife and daughter are in England. I shall be a citizen in two and one-half years.

"When I first came to America," said Professor C., the director of a conservatory of music in West Virginia, "these stringent laws were not in force and I firmly believed that my family would be able to join me within a few months. But my wife was born in Lithuania, and my daughter—now 21—happened to be born in that country while my wife was visiting her parents. She returned to England when the little girl was eleven months old—but, of course, my daughter still belongs to the Lithuanian quota.

"As you can see from these newspaper clippings (the father very proudly exhibited them) my children are recognized as musicians on a par with the greatest artists, and in fact my oldest boy is ranked with the world famous Heifetz." Here he paused as we read various clippings from the London Times, The Musical Standard, The Daily Telegraph of London—which did, indeed, rate the three young people as artists of splendid technique and remarkable achievement. Satisfied with our appreciation, Professor C. continued.

"My eldest boy of 24 and my youngest son of 19 were able to come here as they were born in England. But the incomparable C. Trio, which has played over the European continent is broken up now because my daughter—who is the pianist in the Trio—may not come here. Recognizing as I do how much America appreciates true art and how enthusiastically it promotes the progress of artists, I feel sure it will help me in overcoming this great difficulty of separation, which is retarding the success of the Trio. My boys and I have established a home here and we would all be so wonderfully happy if my wife and daughter could be with us."

We deliberated with Professor C., trying to think of a way in which he might have his family reunited. The result was hopeless. One last wistful question remained.

"If you were to advise the immigration officials that my son, who is a violin virtuoso, was appointed a professor at Trinity College, London, when he was only seventeen years of age, would that help?"

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The Common Welfare

THE Women's Industrial Conference, called by the Woman's Bureau of the Department of Labor brought together in Washington in mid-January nearly three hundred delegates, from forty-one states, representing 107 national organizations. Recognized authorities discussed such important questions as the development and expansion of industry and its social significance to employer, worker and society, industrial relations, health and living conditions of wage earning women and the problems of married women who work outside the home.

A few days before the conference a delegation of working women organized by the National Woman's Party and led by Mary Murray, president of the Women's League of Brooklyn, carried a petition to the White House, asking President Coolidge's support of the Lucretia Mott amendment. Delegates of the Woman's Party raised this issue before the conference.

After much jockeying and acrimonious debate and at a special session set aside for discussion, the conference requested the Woman's Bureau, as a governmental agency, to "make a comprehensive investigation of all the special laws regulating the employment of women, to determine their effects." During the conference, twenty-seven trade union delegates presented a petition to the President to oppose the Equal Rights Amendment, and urged his continued support of an eight-hour law for women and other welfare legislation. This delegation was headed by Sarah Conboy, secretary of the United Textile Workers of America, and Agnes Nestor of the International Glove Workers' Union and the National Woman's Trade Union League.

THE present inequalities in the measures which compensate workers for the disabilities which arise from their occupation are well illustrated in the situation in New York state. At present the workmen's compensation law in this state covers only nineteen occupational diseases, while there are said to be forty-two occupational hazards in the tanning industry alone. New York City is the nation's greatest chemical center; between 1910 and 1924 the number of chemical plants nearly trebled, and the after-war years have brought an astounding increase in the use of chemical poisons in manufacturing processes. Fifty-three separate poisons are listed as dangerous by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, in addition to harmful dusts. Bricklayers and plasterers suffer from lime. Carbon gets into the skin pores of foundry workers and causes irritation. Dyes injure the workers who handle them. Silicosis kills stone cutters, and the death rate from tuberculosis is several times the average for men who work on granite or in other jobs which expose them to silica dust. Yet the present New York state law makes no provision for silicosis or injury by benzol or many other of the newer industrial poisons. A measure backed by the State Federation of Labor has recently been introduced in the Assembly to provide financial relief for workers suffering "any and all disabling diseases and disabling illnesses" arising from their occupation. Such comprehensive clauses already are in force in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Maryland, and for employes of the federal government. But on the other hand there are no compensation laws of any kind for workers in Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Florida, and North and South Carolina. With the growing complexity in industrial organization and processes it becomes increasingly unjust to expect the worker to understand and to protect himself against the many hazards of his job, and correspondingly the responsibility of health and other public officials to see that he does not lose his life capital by accident or creeping disease.

WHEN the Act for the Welfare and Hygiene of Maternity and Infancy had been signed by President Harding on November 23, 1921, several months were lost before the funds requisite for its administration became available in March 1922, and then only for a five-year period, of which more than half of the first year had expired. The proponents had hoped that the authorization for the appropriation might be made permanent as is usual. The reduction to five years came at the close of a long, hard struggle to get the Act passed on any terms.

The bills pending in Congress for a new appropriation are to prevent recurrence of that earlier delay. Proponents have hoped for a second five years period.

The State and Provincial Health Officers at their last annual meeting, voted to ask for a ten years extension. The Secretary of Labor, with the approval of the President, has requested a *two* years extension of the authorized appropriation, and this is incorporated in the bills now pending before Congress.

In the Senate, the measure is S. 2696, introduced by Senator Phipps of Colorado, chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, and is now before this committee. In the House the corresponding measure is H. R. 7555, introduced by Representative Parker of New York, chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. It has had a hearing before this committee, and may come up for consideration on the floor at any time.

Only five states have not yet accepted the Act and the funds proffered by the federal government. These are Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, Maine and Massachusetts. At the beginning of the fiscal year, July 1, 1925, 43 states and Hawaii were working in co-operation with the Children's Bureau under the provisions of the law.

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It is, of course, encouraging that the vital statistics division of the United States census indicates a substantial drop in the infant death rate for both urban and rural communities in our birth registration area. But even with this improvement the infant death rate remains higher than in Australia, The Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, and the Irish Free State. No state in the United States' birth registration area has so low a rate as New Zealand. On the sorrowful subject of preventable deaths of mothers in child birth, the United States lags behind many countries.

Yet the Bureau's appropriation was smaller in 1925 than in 1924, and has been still further reduced for 1926. The Government is expending less than a million dollars for the promotion of a health program for mothers and babies. It is hard to follow the zeal of federal legislators for starving this life saving service provided by cooperation between the federal government and the states for our nation's most precious asset, its children and their mothers.

Until the vote is taken in both Houses, it will be in order for citizens who wish mothers and babies not to die, to express their desires clearly to their state delegations in both Houses, and to communicate also with the Speaker of the House.

HEADED by the judges of the juvenile court, a committee of fifty distinguished physicians, lawyers, business men and social welfare leaders in Chicago is raising a fund of $275,000 to make possible a five-year program for the scientific study of human behavior and lay the foundations for an institute which its sponsors hope will ultimately rank, in its own field of mental diseases and behavior problems, with the great research institutions in other scientific fields.

The Juvenile Psychopathic Institute, founded through the generosity of Mrs. William F. Dummer sixteen years ago to enable Dr. William Healy to study youthful offenders appearing in the juvenile court, was essentially a research institution. That parent of the multitude of child guidance clinics to be found in the United States and other lands was originally privately supported and therefore in a position to limit its cases to such as gave promise of utility for research purposes. Dr. Healy's publications give abundant proof of the wisdom of that policy.

From a social standpoint it was a triumph for the rechristened Institute for Juvenile Research to be taken over first by the county and in 1917 by the state of Illinois. The child of private philanthropy was deemed worthy of public maintenance because of its social utility. Under Dr. Herman Adler, who left his Harvard teaching position to take up the work initiated by Dr. Healy, the institute has greatly extended its scope and has become a most important factor in the treatment of behavior problems throughout the state of Illinois. It renders service to children presenting behavior problems, making for happy wholesome lives where previously had been conflict, misery and anti-social reactions.

As state criminologist Dr. Adler coordinated the work of the institute with that of some forty institutions ranging from state penitentiaries to reform schools and private training schools for delinquent children. Traveling clinics carry the services of the institute to all parts of Illinois including small rural communities.

But the pressure of this extensive service has restricted the research work of the Institute for Juvenile Research. Dr. Adler and his gifted associates feel desperately the need for continuous research into the mysteries of human behavior, and stress the importance of intensive research upon the data that lies buried in 8,000 case records accumulated during the existence of the institute and the wealth of material appearing in their clinics each day.

A group of Chicagoans have organized under the name Friends of the Institute for Juvenile Research and set themselves the task of raising by private subscription a fund sufficient to assure the continuance of the research work so keenly desired.

AFTER one of the dull, stupid, bull-necked sessions of the anthracite operators and miners in Philadelphia, a representative of the operators, relaxing from the tension of a conference in which everybody was determined not to confer, fell to talking with an acquaintance. Oddly enough, he began by saying that the quandary in which both sides found themselves was due primarily to the fact that for a generation anthracite had been a wretchedly mismanaged industry. He stressed the fact that the operators had never proved their capacity to cooperate even with one another in developing a common labor policy, and that with a few none too noteworthy exceptions they had in all the years since the Roosevelt Commission made no systematic or united attempt to win the confidence and cooperation of the men. The result was that the men had come to feel that they could get what they wanted only through fighting. Time after time, they had fought with success. Always after more or less stubborn resistence, the operators had yielded a considerable part of the miners' demands. This, he felt, had developed an arrogant spirit, a faith in force so great as to lead to the comparatively recent adoption by the men of their present policy of refusing to work after the expiration of an agreement even while the formulation of a new agreement was in process. The time had come, he was convinced, for the operators to stand their ground, to assert and maintain their "rights" if their moral and actual authority as owners and managers of their properties was not to be completely lost. Already their hold on the loyalty and confidence of the men was so far weakened that it needed the reenforcement of compulsory arbitration; especially it needed the reenforcement that could only come to it through compelling the men and their leaders for once to accept and acknowledge defeat. Until then no constructive labor policy, no program of constructive cooperation would, in his judgment, be possible.

Some of those who overheard the conversation roughly summarized in the preceding paragraph speculated on what might have happened in the conferences in Atlantic City last summer, if the two sides had come together prepared to confess their share of responsibility for the difficulties of the industry, if, instead of firing ultimatums at one another with respect to wages and arbitration, they had come together in the spirit of partners in a great quasi-public service, and before allowing their dander to rise, like two boys who have to get up a "mad" before they can fight, had begun with a candid appraisal of the economic and technical

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status of the business. Is it not possible that the determined assumption of such an attitude of goodwill and candor would have inspired the mutual confidence the lack of which is the immediate cause of this childish and tragically wasteful deadlock? And is it likely that such confidence will be created by the "licking" of either side by the other? Since both sides begin to see that the future of the industry depends upon mutual goodwill and cooperation based upon confidence, and since both sides have been overheard to admit that they are each in some measure responsible for the present absurd situation, one wonders how long it will take them to see that cooperation means mutual concession and that no time will be better to start cooperating than the present.

There are signs that after five months, their minds are reaching this commonsense state. In their latest joint session, they began to try to find substitutes for their battle slogans—compulsory arbitration and no arbitration. The discussion began to turn toward such terms as voluntary arbitration and conciliation based upon fact-finding. Indeed the most hopeful and promising development has been the steadily increasing emphasis upon fact-finding. Once the operators and miners can bring themselves to the establishment of the adequate joint fact-finding agency their chances are that they will turn from endless debate over abstractions to the joint consideration of the practical problems of their industry. There is no absolute guarantee against conflict between two groups so differently situated, economically, as the mine owners and the wage-working miners; certainly we have had enough experience with compulsory arbitration in American industry to make a prima facie case against compulsion of any kind as a guarantee of constructive cooperation. But when reasonable men come together with all the facts before them, the chances that they will reach a working agreement in advance of conflict are at their maximum. Moreover, without the facts, authenticated by both sides through a joint agency, the public is practically helpless to influence such a deadlock as we have been witnessing; with them the force of public opinion may be decisive. For this reason we are inclined to believe that the miners' latest proposal to the effect that the disposition of future controversies be left with a joint Board of Conciliation, guided by the determinations of a fact-finding commission to be designated by former Justice Hughes, Governor Pinchot, and United States Commissioner of Labor Davis is a long stride toward the essential guarantees for which the operators have been contending.

THERE seems to be no appreciable hazard to motorists or garage workers in the use of gasoline treated with lead tetraethyl, according to the studies of the expert committee which has just made its report to the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service. The hideous deaths and the serious illness which have resulted from poisoning by lead tetraethyl all have occurred, in so far as the committee can discover, during the manufacture of the chemical or the process of mixing it with gasoline. Two and three years experience in communities which have used the fuel thus treated to increase its power and eliminate the "knock," disclose no known cases of lead poisoning or of other illness due to this cause. However the committee feels that a longer or a widespread use might conceivably result in conditions and circumstances which would cause a modification of this judgment, and they ask for a continuation of such studies in the states to determine future regulation. An interesting by-product of the investigation is the finding that wherever automobiles are housed together in large numbers, whatever the fuel used, there is an accumulation of lead dust which may prove to be a source of danger to the workers involved, in addition to the hazards from carbon monoxide gas, and an appropriation by Congress is urged to make possible further studies under the supervision of the Surgeon General to include these and related problems in the use of motor fuels.

While ethyl gasoline apparently is a reasonably safe article for commerce and use, the lead tetraethyl which is present in it in minute dilution is one of the most deadly poisons known to large scale manufacture. The committee stresses the need of rigid regulation of the conditions under which it is manufactured and mixed with the gasoline, and recommends that this latter process take place only in registered plants supervised by the state boards of health. In this connection the Workers' Health Bureau, which has been represented in the conferences called by the Surgeon General, points out the difficulties which result from a lack of national policy in the protection of workers' lives and health. France has abolished entirely the use of white lead by national law, and Russia has declared recently that its manufacture and use must stop by 1930. England even under the stress of war was able to stop the use of airplane "dopes" when their danger had been demonstrated. In this country action is dependent upon the vigilance and energy of individual state and city health departments which shift with changing political tides. A further consolidation of the various departments and bureaus of the national government which deal with health, such as has been suggested recently to the President by health and welfare experts, might make possible a more effective national policy in a field where further safeguards are clearly necessary.

A GROWING sentiment against lynching among Southern whites, linked with the desire to prevent the passage of a federal anti-lynching law by making it unnecessary through state action, is shown by the recent action of the Mississippi State Bar Association in issuing an appeal to all Mississippi citizens to oppose mob rule at every opportunity. This courageous and eloquent condemnation of lynching by the lawyers of Mississippi has been widely quoted and commended by the press of the nation. A tragic illustration of the enormous task confronting far-sighted Southern leaders who endeavor to arouse the public conscience of their section to oppose lynch law was furnished by the killing of a Negro by a mob in Clarksdale, a town in one of the least enlightened sections of Mississippi, only a short time after the publication of the Bar Association statement. The Negro, Lindsey Coleman, was one of several arrested for the murder of Grover C. Nicholas, a planter. Coleman was tried and acquitted. A few minutes after he walked from the courtroom, a free man, he was

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seized by a mob and hanged. The sheriff was indicted for "failure to deliver a prisoner" and fined $500. Late in January, G. O. Cain, the leader of the mob, was tried for murder in connection with this lynching in the Coahoma County Circuit Court and acquitted. The jury deliberated 27 hours and was several times reported hopelessly deadlocked. The fact that a member of the mob was actually put on trial is sufficiently novel to be in itself encouraging as to the state's attitude.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reports 18 lynchings for the year 1925, as opposed to 16 for 1924. Six of the 1925 lynchings took place in Mississippi; in 1924 there were only 2 reported from that state. These figures, based on lynchings reported in the press and verified by investigation, can hardly represent anything like the total number that actually took place. Many lynchings, particularly in remote country districts where law enforcement is always less strict than in urban districts, are never reported in the papers. And the South has become so sensitive on the subject that lynchings are sometimes euphemistically reported as homicides of less offensive sorts. Accurate figures, if they could be obtained, would probably show a more serious state of affairs than the very conservative statistics of the N.A.A.C.P. present. Whether the next step in dealing with it will be through the Dyer anti-lynching law or other federal legislation or through state action is largely a matter for the South to determine.

LET us suppose that the advocates of the so-called "intelligence tests" have been allowed to apply those tests universally, and to classify the whole population in accordance with their findings: what will be the intellectual and social results of all this upon our civilization? The supposition may be entirely premature, and the answer may be gratuitous. There may be no one who wants to make any such universal application of any sort of classificatory scheme. But there are those who believe that this is just what we are in for.

For example, the College Entrance Examination Board, which has protected the entrance standards of nearly two hundred colleges and universities for twenty-five years, decided at its November meeting to employ, henceforward, the "intelligence tests" used during the war. This was declared by some of the members present to mark "the most important development in educational cooperation in the history of the country."

But opinions differ widely. Thomas Scott Fiske, secretary of the board, opposed the innovation because, he was reported to have said, "intelligence tests are so unintelligent." About the best that could be said for the plan, he thought, was that "it would help to determine how valuable these tests are." That is, even on the campus—the native home of the "tests"—there is no common acceptance of the plan.

Off the campus, there is much disapproval. One of the most vigorous of dissenting opinions comes from a well-known labor leader, Victor Olander, of Chicago, delegate of the International Seamen's Union to the recent A. F. of L. convention.

These intelligence tests, [said Mr. Olander at Atlantic City] are nothing but the Hindu caste system, which asserts that every man is put into his occupation by law of God: teamsters in the teamsters' caste; sailors in the sailors' caste, and so on, up to the priesthood, itself; and all this is to be forced upon America under the title of an alleged psychology, and inflicted upon our children.

But Professor Carl G. Brigham, of Princeton, and his colleagues of the committee on tests, are already hard at work on the task of adapting the war tests to present conditions and in getting ready to conduct the examinations. College and university men, pretty generally, accept the use of the tests as not only inevitable, but desirable and advantageous. For example, President George B. Cutten, of Colgate University, has said:

If the present hopes and expectations are realized they (the tests) will result in a caste system as rigid as that of India, but on a rational and just basis. . . . One's intelligence quotient will eventually be known and persons will be classified thereby. Those of high intelligence will be directed into lines of occupation that call for leadership. . . . Each person will be directed on a scale of intelligence down to those whose work is of the most routine character of which an imbecile is capable.

"What effect will this have on our so-called democracy?" asks President Cutten. He replies:

It must inevitably destroy universal adult suffrage, by cutting off at least 25 per cent of the adults, those whose intelligence is so low as to be impossible of comprehending the significance of the ballot. On the other hand, it will throw the burden and responsibility of government where it belongs, on those of high intelligence, and we come back again to the rule of the aristocracy—this time the real and total aristocracy. For its own salvation the state must assume the obligation and responsibility of selecting this intellectual aristocracy, and having selected it see that it is properly trained.

This is, of course, not science. It is just what it was in Alexander Hamilton's time—an aspiration for a certain type of social order. But it now appears dressed in habiliments that claim to have been cut on scientific lines. The universities which espouse such doctrines of "intellectual aristocracy" seem to be getting farther and farther away from life—just as the medieval monastery did. They spend multiplied millions in research—with what results? Mainly, the growth of a great fear that "our intellectual aristocracy is being swamped by the mob." Instead of attempting to develop the intelligence of this "mob," as did Jefferson, who didn't think of people as a mob, they seek to segregate themselves from it. Will it work? And if it works, will it pay?

PERHAPS it is an indirect tribute to the notoriously advertised climate, perhaps merely another instance of social progressivism, that causes California to exhibit a lively interest in the care of the aged. From the Survey Club of Los Angeles, which numbers some 350 members, there comes a resolution passed at a recent meeting requesting that early and extensive consideration be given to this subject, if possible in a special issue of Survey Graphic, "in view of the vital importance of the subject of Old Age Care to social workers throughout the country and its immediate pressing importance to the social workers of the State of California." We hasten, as a first instalment, to offer Lucile Eaves' re-

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view of the notable report on Old Age Pensions just made public in Massachusetts by the Commission on Pensions under the chairmanship of Frank H. Hardison (p. 554). In addition to her policy of opening her almshouses as boarding homes for the aged who were independent or partially independent financially, Massachusetts has made extensive use also of the practice of placing the dependent aged in family homes or of helping to maintain them in their own homes rather than in institutions. (See The Survey, Home Life for the Aged, by Homer Folks, October 15, 1924.) Yet even in Massachusetts the application of such modern principles has not been extended widely among the private agencies. According to Joseph J. Tillinghast, who has made an extensive study of the care of the aged, there are probably not more than one hundred aged persons who have been "placed out" under supervision by the societies interested in the care of the aged, as compared to the three thousand aged persons cared for by these organizations in institutions. If the numbers aided by the private relief and welfare agencies are included with those helped by the old age societies, the institutional group still is twice as large as the group who are receiving "outdoor relief" from private sources. Under the public agencies the two plans run neck and neck—4,123 aged persons in almshouses and 3,791 who receive outdoor relief of one kind or another. It is only fair to add that the outdoor relief given by public and private agencies alike varies widely in plan and extent.

California herself will have some interesting data to offer on the care of the aged with the completion of the survey of the care of the aged in San Francisco and Alameda County now being carried out by the Council of Social and Health Agencies of San Francisco in cooperation with the Department of Social Economics of the University of California. This study follows closely upon the passage of two important pieces of legislation in that state, giving to the State Department of Public Welfare the duty of supervising persons or groups of persons who undertake the care of an aged person and to the Insurance Commissioner the responsibility for passing on the solvency of any association which accept life payments or annuities for the care of old people. A plan for cooperation has been effected by the two departments which should prove of much value in ensuring adequate safeguards in the care of aged persons.

WE have tried to scare automobilists into law and order by taking their money and licenses; to horrify them, by conducting them personally through the accident wards of hospitals or posting the highways with records of casualties: to convince them by statistical tables, showing that the automobile has become deadlier than diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid fever or smallpox. Why not try a little gentle and humorous persuasion as well? We put forward as a candidate for such a task the Rules of the Road in Japan, recently reprinted by the New York Times (with its tongue in its cheek) as the transcript of a poster circulated in Tokio and sent back by an American traveler. At any rate they give spicy variety to the old familiar story.

At the rise of the hand of policeman, stop rapidly. Do not pass him by or otherwise disrespect him.

When a passenger of the foot hove in sight, tootle the horn trumpet to him melodiously at first. If he still obstacles your passage, tootle him with vigor and express by word of the mouth the warning, "Hi, hi."

Beware of the wandering horse, that he shall not take fright as you pass him. Do not explode the exhaust box at him. Go soothingly by, or stop by the roadside till he pass away.

Give big space to the festive dog that make sport in the roadway. Avoid entanglement of dog with your spokewheels.

Go soothingly on the grease-mud, as there lurk the skid demon. Press the brake of the foot as you roll around the corners to save collapse and tie-up.

THE annual report of the Commissioner of Education for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1925, now being distributed, is a rather dreary discussion of surveys, research projects and departmental publications, until one reaches the Alaska Division on page 26. This "undertakes to make provision for the education of the natives of Alaska, extend to them all possible medical relief, train them in the industries and relieve worthy cases of destitution" and this broad program proceeds under grave handicaps:

The adminstration . . . involves great difficulties arising principally from the remoteness of most of the villages, the enormous distances between them, the meager means of communication and the severity of the climate. . . . One of the school districts is twice the size of Illinois. Many of the settlements are far beyond the limits of transportation and regular mail service, and one third of the native population is north of the Arctic Circle.

Through the long, dim winters the teachers of the hundred odd schools in these far flung outposts "not only teach the school but are dispensing agents of the medical chest, teacher of sanitation and health and village sanitary engineer."

The chief need of the Alaskan natives is some type of industrial education that will teach them how to soften in some degree the rigors of arctic life, which all too often in the past has known famine and the epidemics of disease that follow famine. It is to help these remote Americans in their struggle for existance that the reindeer industry has been developed in Alaska by the Bureau of Education, until according to this report,

the total number of reindeer in Alaska is now estimated at 350,000, of which about 235,000 are owned by the natives themselves. . . . The present commercial value of the Alaskan reindeer herds is approximately $8,750,000, or $1,550,000 more than the sum paid for the Territory by the United States in 1867. . . . This does not take any account of more than 200,000 reindeer slaughtered in the past and used as meat by the natives, nor the great benefit derived by the natives through participation in this great industrial success.

The casual parent or the average taxpayer into whose hands this report happens to fall will probably be depressed by the purely routine and mechanical activities of the Bureau of Education in the various states; and he will be equally intrigued by the ingenuity and spirit and constructive merit of the work of the Alaska Division. And he will wonder, perhaps a little resentfully, why his Bureau of Education cannot find and encourage among the children of the United States activities as vital, as intimately connected with their actual life, as significant and challenging, as is the raising of reindeer to Eskimo boys and girls "north of the Arctic Circle."

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EDUCATION

What Is This Adult Education?

WITHIN the past year, "adult education" has been "put on the map" in America. After many years of incidental development in sporadic ways and in isolated movements, the "national association" period has been reached. At Cleveland, in October, the formation of the Association was begun. (See Survey Graphic, December, 1925, p. 308.) In New York, in December, the first of a series of regional conferences on the subject was held, preparatory to a national conference which is to come later. (See The Survey, January 15, 1926, p. 493.) Seventy-five men and women active in various movements having to do with "adult education" were present at the New York meeting. The Survey asked a number of those present—including some who did not express themselves at all and others who did not have time to express themselves adequately—to contribute a series of brief discussions of the problem, dealing both with the task of defining terms and the task of safeguarding organization methods. The six papers presented herewith indicate some of the difficulties in both those realms.

There is no agreement as to what the term "adult education" does, or can, or should mean. Some think it should cover all the multifarious activities of all individuals and groups who are dealing with adults, whether idealism be their guide, or whether the not unwelcome fees soften somewhat the rigors of their idealism. Some are fearful that this "adult education" will "escape from all control" of definitions and go its own way in the world, unstandardized and unstandardizable. Others are fearful that it will not do so. This symposium deals with this problem of defining terms in well-rounded, suggestive and challenging ways.

There is no agreement as to how "adult education" should be organized—if it is to remain "adult," and worth its salt. Some want to departmentalize its organization and make it subordinate to existent forms of classificatory thinking. Others want to keep it fluid, spontaneous, unorganized—save, perhaps, for a central clearing house of general information. These six papers help to clear up the issues involved in this crucial problem. The Survey holds no brief for any narrow definition of terms or for any prejudicial form of organization. As Dean Russell said, in an earlier statement, "Adult education, as we now find it, is sporadic and experimental." That is very true. It is also quite natural. Every vital effort is sporadic and experimental at first. Adult education is still one of the youngest of our social enterprises. Our hope must be that it will never suffer the same kind of institutionalizing that has overtaken our public education for children. The great defeat comes when a vital movement loses all its earlier characteristics. In the minds of the editors of The Survey, the high challenge of the present formative situation with respect to adult education is to make it less sporadic without at the same time making it one whit less experimental.

What Is Adult Education?

The question answered by

MARY ELY, education secretary of the National League of Girls' Clubs

AMY HEWES, professor of economics and sociology, Mount Holyoke College

E. C. LINDEMAN, American Country Life Association

A. J. MUSTE, director of Brookwood Labor College

WILLIAM ORTON, professor of economics and sociology, Smith College

JAMES E. RUSSELL, dean of Teachers' College, Columbia University

An Opportunity to Think

ONE has no business to get into a dilemma when one has only five hundred words with which to get out. But that is exactly my situation. If I devoted every one of my five hundred words to a statement of what the National League of Girls' Clubs *does* mean by adult education I could hardly do the subject justice. And yet so firmly has the habit of negative exposition fastened itself upon me that I can not resist the temptation to spend at least two-thirds of my allowance in telling what we do *not* mean.

This attitude of mind was created in the beginning by persistent, though varied, misunderstandings of the nature and purpose of our educational program.

Our organization is composed of working women. "Then," said some, placing the emphasis upon the "working," "you are right to give them more education so that they may fit themselves for better jobs."

"But," we answered, "our type of education may not do that for it is concerned not with *getting* a living but with living itself."

"Yes," said others, stressing the "women," "every woman should be taught to cook and sew and make a comfortable home."

And again we answered "That is not the sort of education we are offering. Ours is vocational. It has to do with life as a whole, not with any special phase of it."

And still others, sensing a certain deprivation in the term "working women," commended us for giving our members educational opportunities, which they had missed when younger. To them we explained that our program is in no sense compensatory. It does not look to the past. It attempts to meet the needs of the present with whatever of knowledge and wisdom can increase the understanding and enjoyment of life today and tomorrow.

The actual program of studies offered to a group depends largely upon their own demands and desires. There are classes in literature and art; in economics,

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politics, history, sociology, psychology and biology. "But how can you teach these subjects to girls who may not have had even a high school education?" we are asked.

The question reminds me of a file clerk who once worked in our office. She had perfected an elaborate system of filing that gave each bit of correspondence its own place, into which it went with the speed and accuracy of a shot fired by an expert marksman. But getting it out again was different! It was not that the file clerk could not find it but that she objected to removing anything from so perfect a repository. Why should letters once anchored there ever be expected to get back into the current of every day business?

So with the "isms" and the "ics" and the "ologies" which are, after all, only repositories of the systematized knowledge of human equipment, human affairs and the environment to which human beings must adapt themselves. This knowledge can profit us nothing if it cannot get back into the current of every day living through its application to everyday problems by the everyday men and women who are meeting them. Therefore, we present psychology and economics and the like to our students not as academic subjects but as sources of information which may throw light upon the questions which they are trying to solve. These questions arise most often out of conflict between the elements of change and permanence in our complex society—changing codes of morals; shifting values in human relationships; cross currents in contemporary history, politics, law, industry and religion.

One other standing objection we meet: "Are you really being of service to your members when you confront them with such things as the population problem, psychological repressions and complexes, and industrial conflicts? Are they ready for them?" Perhaps not. But life does not hold back on that account. And the real question seems to be whether it is better to have complexes and not know it, or to know about them and through knowing, avoid or get rid of them?

Adult education, in our meaning of the term, is essentially a protestant movement. As Protestantism in religion insisted upon every man's ability to interpret the sacred scriptures for himself and a similar movement in politics aimed to give every man a voice in his own government through his vote, so this movement in education asks that every man be given an opportunity to think for himself. And upon us, who are in the movement, the conviction grows that political democracy is, and must remain, a farce until education of this sort is both universal and life-long. That is why we should like to see it spread into every corner of our country and to have it recognized as a most essential element in our educational system. MARY ELY

Building a World View

THERE is indeed need for a definition of adult education. I am not going to attempt to frame it in this brief statement. I am only going to talk about it.

There are those who speak as if adult education included every organized effort to impart instruction to, or to secure the intellectual and moral development of, persons too old to be classified as infants, children or adolescents. Thus the movies, radio concerts and lectures, Americanization activities, the teaching of English to foreigners, the extension divisions of colleges and universities, open forums, correspondence schools, workers' education, the educational activities of church missionary societies, Y.M.C.A.'s, fraternal orders, etc., etc., are all lumped together and called adult education. I do not have in mind now criticism of any of these activities. But if this is the definition of adult education, does it define anything? Is this bringing together elements that have any contribution to make to each other or to the community through being brought together?

Assuming for the moment that all these activities are to be grouped under the name of adult education, it would seem that the movement has three main purposes. In the first place much of this adult education is vocational, seeking more or less directly to equip men for various trades or professions. In the second place much of this adult education aims at providing entertainment. This is probably the principal achievement of a good deal of lecturing and open forum discussions, as well as of activities more avowedly seeking to provide entertainment.

But it seems obvious in the third place that there are a great many people today in a country like ours who are trying to build up what may be most simply characterized as a world view. The old theological world view has been broken down and along with it many of the ancient customs, supports and inspirations of life. If life under the new conditions is to be coherent, is to partake of a measure of intelligence and purposefulness, and is to seem worthwhile, another conception of the universe and of life must be built up.

Hence the thirst for lectures stating in popular form the findings of all the sciences under the sun, physics, chemistry, astronomy, biology, psychology, geology, sociology, history.

It would be a great mistake to suppose, as we sometimes appear to do, that the people who attend these lectures do so with a purely objective and scientific attitude. They are far from being, on the average, independent investigators like those who work in the laboratory or carry on a piece of statistical social research. These thousands of folk attending the chautauquas, open forums and university extension lectures are taking their world view mainly on authority.

It is also a great mistake to assume that the impulse moving these folk is exclusively or even primarily that of intellectual curiosity. This is no doubt an important element. But they are also seeking emotional release, courage, enhancement of life, advice on personal problems, inspiration to idealistic living.

If this is true, then people are seeking in the adult education movement what for want of a better term we may have to call religion, seeking, in other words, what the churches supplied to our ancestors and are perhaps continuing to supply to some of our contemporaries.

And if this is true, then it becomes very important to ask ourselves whether there is any one thing that can be called adult education, whether in other words all these various adult education agencies are teaching or wanting to teach the same view of the world, and inspiring or wanting to inspire men to the same type of living and to the same practical reactions toward the social issues of the time.

A. J. MUSTE

A Help to Self-Realization

THE aim of adult education, as I see it, is to inspire grown-ups to be something more than they are now and to do their work better than they now do it. Its

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beginning is wherever one finds oneself; it ends only when ambition ceases to function. At its best, it leads to constantly increasing richness of life, better appreciation of what life offers, greater satisfaction in the use of mind and body, and better understanding of the rights and duties of one's fellow-men.

In this sense, adult education includes everybody everywhere who aspires to self-realization. In a narrower sense, it applies particularly to those who need help to help themselves. At one extreme is the person who can and does take advantage of every opportunity for advancement that comes his way. At the other extreme is the person who is so situated that he cannot make use of such means as are available for getting out of the rut in which he finds himself. Between these extremes are most of our fellow citizens, and the majority are below the middle line. A democracy cannot long exist that does not succeed fairly well in helping all men up.

Our public schools at best afford only the beginnings of education, and not all who pass through them get what they are intended to give. Class instruction never reaches all alike. Relatively few stay long enough in school to profit most from its advantages. Lack of incentive and lack of opportunity are responsible for many failures to make a start in the right direction. Book learning is too often imposed when practical training along vocational lines is what is wanted. In other words, our public schools are so standardized that the boy or girl who does not fit the pattern suffers the penalty of being different.

In my opinion, the movement for the promotion of adult education is more than a philanthropic gesture: it is practical patriotism which the state should foster, if it had foresight enough to discern its own interests. That foresight lacking, it is left to those who want help and to those who can give help to band themselves together for mutual profit. In this way, at least we shall escape the trammels that go with state control. This undertaking cannot be standardized; it must reach out to individuals.

The proposed American Association for Adult Education faces a heroic task. There is need of a clearing house for the collection and dissemination of information concerning the many fine things now being done in this country and abroad for the education of adults. Methods of teaching and ways of adult learning should be studied. Text-books and study guides written in non-technical language are a prime requisite. Teachers who can divest themselves of the academic halo must be found and fitted for their jobs. The scope of our public schools and state institutions can be extended when the public comes to a better appreciation of their worth. And back of all is the need of closer acquaintance with the man who is different and of more sympathy for his efforts to become a better American citizen. Whatever the cost, the investment will quickly redeem itself in dividends of social betterment.

JAMES E. RUSSELL

To Discover the Meaning of Experience

CAN the term "adult education" carry the load which its hasty devotees have heaped upon its back? Or is it merely representative of another typical American fad—a resonant sound which will soon take its place in that limbo of linguistic thrillers where "reconstruction" languishes with its mates?

Symbols we must have, but sad is their fate in a civilization dominated by advertising and publicity psychology. We can, by the use of high-pressure methods, debauch the best of words. Put a fine-sounding phrase on the lips of fifty Americans and permit them to go forth in missionary ardor to "sell the idea" and you have the perfect formula for defeat. The saturation-point is soon reached; when the campaign smoke has cleared away the residue is an organization which will thenceforth seek to perpetuate itself on the basis of a symbol which has lost all meaning. This, I fear, may become the history of adult education in America.

The danger is avoidable. Movements which tend to spread too rapidly may be redeemed if enthusiasts can learn to give attention to qualitative rather than quantitative results. At present the tendency is to make the term "adult education" comprehensive in meaning. Adults pursuing correspondence courses, attending spasmodic Chautauqua lectures, or studying in evening continuation schools are considered to be a part of adult education no less than participators in labor classes, new schools and people's colleges. Obviously these are all adults going through some of the motions of education. Some are learning to become better specialists, some are filling the gaps in an interrupted educational schedule and some are seeking nothing more than conversational acquaintance with highbrowism. Each of these attempts looking toward intellectual improvement may on its own account be wholly worthy and commendable but somewhere there must be found a qualitative criterion by which the chaff may be discriminated from the grain. If adult education means everything, it means nothing.

These tests, it seems to me, will be discovered, not in content or quantity, but rather in method and quality. If, for example, the teacher is still considered to be the oracle of wisdom who gets from his students what he has already imparted out of his academic repository, the process is not adult education. Some knowledge may be accumulated by this method and certain satisfactions will accrue. The teacher will, like all experts and preachers who get their views accepted, be suffused with the glow of achievement and the students will cherish their well-filled notebooks as souvenirs of learning. This, however, is the same method which goes on regularly in stereotyped schools and colleges —a merely additive process. If adult education is to have creative meaning, it will need to do something more than add a little more to what we've already got. If adult education is to be merely a quantitative extension of the sort of education which already prevails, I can see no reason for getting excited about it—no more reason than I can see for enthusiasm for increased production of automobiles.

I am conceiving adult education in terms of a new technique for learning, a technique as essential to the college graduate as to the unlettered manual worker. It represents a process by which the adult learns to become aware of and to evaluate his experience. To do this he cannot begin by studying "subjects" in the hope that some day this information will be useful. On the contrary, he begins by giving attention to situations in which he finds himself, to problems which include obstacles to his self-fulfillment. Facts and information from the differentiated spheres of knowledge are used, not for the purpose of accumulation but because needed in solving problems. In this process the teacher finds a new function. He is no longer the oracle who speaks from the platform of authority, but rather the guide, the pointer-out who also participates in learning in proportion to the vitality and relevancy of his facts and

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experiences. In short, my conception of adult education is this: a cooperative venture in non-authoritarian, informal learning, the chief purpose of which is to discover the meaning of experience; a quest of the mind which digs down to the roots of the preconceptions which formulate our conduct; a technique of learning for adults which makes education coterminous with life and hence elevates living itself to the level of adventurous experiment.

E. C. LINDEMAN

Between Herd and Individual

IT is perhaps neither possible nor desirable to define what adult education is. But it is worth while to point out what adult education, of the socially valuable kind, is not. It is not essentially a means of remedying the defects of juvenile education: those defects, in the great majority of cases, are irremediable. It is not essentially a means to an economic end: if economic benefit results, that is in the nature of a bonus, like material gain following upon right conduct. It is not essentially a means to the advancement of any given group interest: the collective intention may be either strengthened or weakened, and must submit to the hazard. It is not essentially a means to anything. Unless it be conceived primarily as end in itself, it is hardly worth while—certainly not worth public while. In this matter it differs no whit from any other species of real education.

Another popular fallacy is that, in a democracy, public opinion is determined by the news. This is a double error. First, it is now pretty well proven that the demand for news is in the main a demand for entertainment, distraction. And second, even if it were otherwise, news in the narrow, newspaper sense, is not a sufficient basis of intelligent opinion. To have value as a guide to judgment, news needs continuous constructive interpretation. I mean not color, but setting. No string of bare news items can safely be relied on to interpret itself. For that there is need of knowledge sufficiently wide and deep to reveal the relative significance of the new particulars in the trend of events, and to make possible the construction of intelligent hypotheses as to the underlying forces, which may be tested and corrected as fresh facts come to hand. It is desirable that as many people as possible should qualify, in at least some field, to attempt this for themselves rather than leave it to not always disinterested professionals; not so much because of the chance of better interpretation as because of the certainty of better people.

There is in America much spontaneous cooperation to this end in small neighborhood groups or clubs of all descriptions. It is perhaps a basic function of adult education to develop such groupings that afford an escape from the isolation of the individual without invoking the mentality of the herd. How to stimulate and direct this general purpose without destroying its spontaneity is a delicate problem of organization upon which I cannot here enter. This much however may be said: that any such effort must work in closest conformity with the natural habits of the people; that it must recognize intimacy of association and the cooperative spirit as first principles of pedagogy; that it must avoid dictation alike of method and of purpose, leaving to each group the great educational experience of deciding for itself which among various possibilities of endeavor is the most worth while; and that it must not measure its results nor base its hopes upon merely quantitative data. In defence of such an effort it may be said that if democracy is ever to become possible for large communities, consistently with public safety, the acceptance of continuous education as a part of the normal life is certainly a condition of it.

WILLIAM ORTON

An Adventure in Independence

FACTS of real importance about the process of learning have been discovered wherever the education of a special group has been recognized as a particular problem. The training of normal children has been partly reconstructed as a result of meeting the difficulties presented by the training of feeble-minded children, for we have learned to adjust the scale of the materials used to fit the eye-hand coordinations possible at a given age. Similarly the teaching of the foreign-speaking people, of the blind, and of manual workers has furnished valuable suggestions for the education of all human beings. Is it possible to say that the attention now given to the education of adults is also adding to our understanding of what really stimulates the growth of the mind?

The education of persons who have reached their chronological and mental majority has to do with two different groups. There are those who are belatedly seeking the fundamental tools of learning, who still cannot read or write with ease, and who are not familiar with the modern interpretations of the more common facts of the physical and social world because opportunity was denied them when acquisition of these things was easiest. Adult education also has to do with the group of people who are pursuing interests which belong to their later experience. These interests may be directly or indirectly vocational or purely philosophic, scientific, or esthetic. What possible common denominator can such varied programs posses and what in fact are they showing?

The experiments in adult education are making it clear that there is a factor as necessary to take into account as the degree of mental capacity. The full-grown man or woman has what may be described as a moral necessity different from that of the child. He will learn best from those experiences which offer him a responsible part. It is true, as we have also recently discovered, that the older disciplines of learning cannot do for a child what a program of his own adoption may accomplish, though it appears that a child can take orders and learn at the same time. But if an adult works only under direction he is not playing a part appropriate to his moral maturity. He must be sent forth on some special project, in much the same way as he has already gone forth to seek a house or a job or a wife. This is true for the adult who is learning to write as well as for the advanced student. He must not be allowed to retain his sense of helplessness. If it is merely a tool which he is learning to control, his teacher must be ingenious enough to show him early that he must use it in a way which is not the same as that of any other seeker.

Here and there in the United States education is to be found which recognizes the need of the adult to take an active part in the process of learning, with all the scope for his initiative that can possibly be made. The adult who is being "instructed," however faithful and industrious he may be, will remain behind the one who is actually launched on an independent undertaking. The attention, good-will, and enthusiasm of the latter are enlisted to a degree not possible for the passively instructed. They are enlisted for his special project and for a larger education as well.

AMY HEWES

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Students and the Church

THE First Methodist Church of Evanston, Illinois, is packed with students, perhaps a thousand—half of them girls. From the gallery one can see a graduate student, already bald, who must have been a freshman before the war began; but most of the gathering are undergraduates. As they arise to give their name and college they call out institutions, 176 in all, scattered from Boston to Seattle, and from Wisconsin to Alabama. Rumor has it that in this sample of church-going students from American colleges the questions of moment are to be handled without gloves. As the announcement of the conference has it, "*Anything* is possible." After looking over the crowd, the reporter for the Chicago Tribune writes a story which his office heads, Collegians All Set to Flame in Revolt.

Only students are allowed a part in the discussion. The other two hundred of us are above the conflict—in the gallery—referred to from time to time as "the hanging gardens." The students take vast delight in seeing there, condemned to silence, the men to whom many of them had been forced to listen more than once through chapel service, lecture, or sermon.

The conference, called to consider what the church can do about the major social questions of today, set to work on the hypothesis that the church can somehow play an effective part in solving the problem of racial, industrial, and international relations. For several months before the meeting, a number of commissions had been examining the accomplishments of the church and its shortcomings in these various fields. These reports were amplified, during the sessions, by a series of ten-minute interpretations by undergraduates with an occasional half-hour speech by a "professional" representative of a church board or commission. After the speeches the conference asked questions of the speakers and then proceeded to discussion.

The undergraduates' speeches from the platform were varied and for the most part thoughtful. Among the speakers were a Negro woman student, a self-styled Communist from the coal fields, an ardent advocate for the abolition of war at all costs, and a Chinese student who gave, perhaps, the most closely reasoned talk of the entire conference.

So long as the meeting was in the hands of these youthful orators, it seemed that the sky was the limit to what the church might do. To describe a considerable number of these speakers, the Tribune's adjective of "flaming" was repeatedly used. And so favorably were these sincere, passionate statements received that there were moments when everyone must have caught a feeling that there was tremendous drive and power in the group.

The conference reminded one at those moments of a circular saw running with a loud, business-like hum. Then, from the floor would come questions. "What can we do about a case like Herrin?" "What answer have we to the challenge that the Church can do nothing to help the coal miners?" "What can we do about the discrimination we see against the Negro?" And in a trice the atmosphere changed: These were concrete problems of behavior and social engineering for which there were no ready answers. The saw had struck a knot.

Now in such crises as these, the experienced sawyer, in order to keep the belt on the pulley, stops feeding the wood and lets the engine regain speed. Fortunately this happened again and again at Evanston. At one point a young instructor of sociology did much to restore the self-confidence of the group by reminding them that not everything had to be done at once. He urged them to tackle jobs within their reach and to go at them carefully, making use of all the science they had learned. He appealed to them to study how solutions of difficult problems have been reached in actual situations in the past and to apply this knowledge to new social experiments. In spite of the dramatic atmosphere of the conference, this practical approach was the open sesame to the hearts of the students and carried them along where appeals to the glory that was Protestantism had failed.

How worthwhile was it for the students to give up as much as a week of their Christmas holidays, to travel, some of them, hundreds of miles, to sit eight or nine hours a day in a suburban church?

Obviously the young people who sacrificed their holidays were on the whole the more socially-minded students in their own colleges. The invitation to the conference was a call addressed to progressives among the church-affiliated students. Those who believe that the mission of the church is to preach "pure" Christianity, free from entanglements in every-day affairs, did not come to Evanston, except a few who felt it part of their mission to help crush the serpent's head of worldliness reared in the shape of an interest in social problems.

Merely to bring together a thousand socially-minded young people who take their religion seriously was an impressive demonstration. Indeed, in this age when press and fiction make for us a "typical college boy" with a raccoon coat who knows nothing but the latest football score, and the co-ed with bobbed hair and a cigarette, interested only in new dances, it is something for those of us some years out of college to realize that there can be found a thousand such eager and forward-looking young students.

The student "revolt," in so far as it was in evidence, was chiefly directed against the assumption that theology and dogma represent the whole of religion. But it extended also to a denunciation of denominationalism in missions, theological schools and colleges, and indeed in all church activities. What was said on the floor during those three days must have been sobering for some of those in the gal-

The Church and Education

From the findings of the Interdenominational Student Conference at Evanston.

Since we conceive life to be a creative experiment in aggressive good-will, we recommend the educational approach to the solution of human problems facing the church, involving a careful survey of the facts, freedom of expression, consideration of all viewpoints, thorough experimentation, and as far as possible living contacts with immediate community needs.

We recommend that programs be organized in terms of Christian projects to be done instead of meetings to be held.

We recommend the introduction of courses in denominational schools and universities designed to search for a Christian solution of social problems embodying a careful survey of the facts, freedom of expression, consideration of all viewpoints, thorough experimentation, and as far as possible living contacts with immediate community needs.

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lery who believe that the denominational church maims its usefulness when it merges with others.

But the experience was no less sobering to the students themselves—in spite of the fine frenzy in which it started. Willing to go anywhere in liberal theory, to denounce exploitation, to demand the abolition of war, and the equal rights of races, they were puzzled by the social implications of an every-day happening. One of the colored delegates was barred from a restaurant. No one seemed to have a convincing way of dealing with the emergency; and in fact nothing effective was done about it.

Could more have been accomplished by a different procedure? The executive committee announced in advance that the conference would not split into small groups; and the delegates, by a large majority, approved the decision. No time was lost, therefore, in dividing into groups, finding the new places of meeting, and in learning at second hand about the interesting things that always seem to happen in the meeting you do not attend. Every delegate left Evanston knowing that if he missed a single dramatic moment of all the sessions it was his own fault.

But this constant meeting together of so large an assembly had its drawbacks: it was not easy for a thousand people to get well enough acquainted with each other in three days and to work together efficiently. Remaining in one great conference room, as they did, they shared the same experiences; but without an opportunity to meet in interest groups they failed to come really to grips with the problems nearest their hearts. Time and again, just as the discussion was getting warm, the chairman was forced to call time and announce the next item. And for many there was a certain theatrical note in the discussion itself which prevented the steady march of thought. Few undergraduates felt able to speak simply and frankly on their problems when they had to pitch their voices uncomfortably high in order to reach the delegates beneath the galleries. They found, moreover, that the remarks which had seemed pat to the occasion when scribbled on the backs of programs soon underwent a sea-change; by the time a hearing could be secured, perhaps ten minutes later, they seemed indirect, if not actually irrelevant. It requires skill and long experience to take effective part in a discussion group of a thousand!

As an exercise in orderly thinking, the conference was disappointing; but even so the interplay of ideas did expose hundreds of young people to new aspects of old questions. Students from the Corn Belt got new slants on industry as they listened to their fellows from the soft-coal country. The city-bred boys will long remember what the students from villages in Tennessee said about the race problem as *they* saw it. For this experience alone the conference was worth while.

These thousand students were called together for "discussion leading to action." They recognized frankly the difficulties in their way and determined to go back to their colleges to start experiments in the homely areas within which they are facing the problems they discussed. We shall watch with the keenest interest how they fare in these experiments.

S. M. KEENY

The Church in War

From the findings of the Interdenominational Student Conference at Evanston.

1. We believe the church through its churches should excommunicate war, dissociate itself from the war system, and refuse henceforth to allow the use of the church as a medium of preparation for, or prosecution of, war.

2. Because we favor a positive education for peace, and because we believe that the present military training program of the War Department in high schools and colleges gives war an ultimate sanction, perpetuates the war system, delays disarmament, intimidates students and faculty, and inhibits free discussion, we suggest:

a. Abolition of military training in church and denominational schools.

b. Abolition of military training in high schools.

c. Abolition of military training in colleges and universities, including immediate abolition of its compulsory features in land-grant institutions.

3. Every local church should guard and guarantee the right of an individual to follow the guidance of his own conscience when that conscience advises against participation in war.

4. Because war is a negation of the value of human personality we condemn any attempt to impose universal conscription of manhood on the United States, such as the proposed legislation before Congress.

5. We believe the United States should take a leading share in promoting and participating in any international organization fostering good-will and cooperation between nations. In particular, we urge the immediate ratification of the Protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, participation of the United States in formulating plans for the projected disarmament conference, and entry into the League of Nations. We urge the churches to continue their efforts along these lines.

OPPORTUNITIES for American students to study abroad, offering the advantages of contact with the methods and viewpoints of the universities and libraries of Europe and Asia and the possibility of better understanding between the scholars of the United States and other countries, are presented in a booklet just published by the Institute of International Education, Stephen P. Duggan, director. The present publication is a revised and greatly enlarged second edition of a similar booklet issued three years ago by the same organization. Nearly four hundred scholarships and fellowships are listed, many of them unrestricted as to subject or place of study. Most of them are intended for post-graduate study, and a number for post-doctorate research. Those offered for study in a designated place invite students to Australia, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hawaii, Hungary, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Palestine, Poland, the Scandinavian countries, and Spain. The fellowships vary in amount from $200 a year up, most of them being about $1,000 or $1,200, though some are as high as $3,600, with additional traveling allowance. The specified subjects range the field of human knowledge, from architecture and archaeology and art through diplomacy and industrial relations and music and public health to theology and zoology.

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Private Life or Private Duty for the R. N.

SOME families think of the ministering angel in a starched white dress and cap. To others that immaculate exterior suggests only a bill-collector in nurse's clothing. What anyone thinks of a trained nurse in general is likely to narrow down to the description of the particular ones he has known. But at least on the lay side of the fence there is one general fault found with trained nurses: they cost too much.

Around that central complaint are grouped a number of minor ones: trained nurses are so toplofty that they won't help with the housework; they insist upon going home at night, which means that you have to have two of the expensive creatures to spell the clock around, and so on. Some doctors grumble in much this same way, and add their opinion of nurses who won't take certain kinds of cases, such as contagious disease or baby cases. Others who have tried to get help in an emergency, and failed, believe that there is a serious shortage of trained nurses who will take "private duty." Apparently something is wrong with the trained nurse picture, but what?

The Erie County (New York) Medical Society made a diagnosis last spring which was circulated widely in New York state. Briefly put, it ran something this way: There is a shortage of nurses. Many nurses refuse to accept cases in private homes. The twelve-hour day works great financial hardship on the sick public. In fact it "makes it almost prohibitive for people of small means to accept parenthood, and so constitutes a serious menace to the birthrate among the very class in which a high birthrate is most desirable." There is an increasing tendency of nurses to take on the functions of a doctor. The underlying causes of conditions there criticized were said to be the increasingly large number of women drawn in special lines of work other than bedside care of the sick, such as industrial dispensaries, public health nursing, institutional positions, and so on; the emphasis in present systems of training on "the larger sphere of the professional woman" since "such aspirations on the part of nurses seem to result in a diminished enthusiasm for the performance of the real function of a nurse, viz., caring for the comfort of her patient and executing the orders of the physician"; the present expanding curriculum which serves "to educate nurses beyond the point of practical usefulness in their actual work"; the high requirements as to preliminary education of a pupil nurse which makes for dissatisfaction with the financial returns on the investment of time and money to secure such training, and debars many young women "of high character and ability such as formerly chose nursing as a calling from sheer love of the work," thus serving to create shortage of women in the nursing ranks.

Unhesitatingly the committee which was reporting to the county society recommended that the requirements of applicants for training be reduced to include only a grammar school education, with emphasis on the character, ability and enthusiasm of the applicant; that the training school curriculum be modified by leaving out sufficient of the theoretical instruction so that the course for the degree of R. N. could be completed in two years instead of three; and that two classes of nurses be created to represent the two-year and a more advanced three-year course respectively. In brief the Erie county doctors said that there is a shortage of nurses because we demand more education than is needed on the job. The amount of education which we demand hampers rather than helps the making of a good nurse. Remedy: demand less.

The nurses, who had not been consulted in this solution of their problem, felt that it was too simple to be quite true. The president of the New York State League of Nursing Education, Elizabeth C. Burgess, R. N., wrote a letter to the state medical society before which the Erie County report was presented, pointing out that it is perfectly possible under the New York state law for any training school to offer a two-year course and that the legal prerequisite for nurse training is only one year of high school. Where it is higher it is by rule of the hospital itself, which could be modified at the hospital's will. As a matter of fact it is the best hospitals with the highest requirements which have the least difficulty in getting recruits for training, and their graduates are in constant demand. "It is evident," wrote Miss Burgess, "that changing economic conditions and the opening up of many new and attractive opportunities for women in other fields have a direct bearing on the whole situation. There is no way of compelling young women of the present day to go into nursing or to remain in it, if we cannot assure them of the conditions necessary to a reasonably wholesome, happy and satisfying life."

IN the meantime the doctors in Brooklyn have begun to talk about "the nurse situation." After reading the Erie County report the Kings County Medical Society set out to do a study of their own. They borrowed an actual nurse from the Committee on Dispensary Development, Janet Geister, R. N., to act as secretary of their committee, and they invited doctors, private duty nurses and representatives of visiting nurse associations, hospitals, and even patients to come to express their opinions.

The picture they pieced together was distinctly less simple than that drawn by their Erie County confrères. They found that physicians believed that nursing service offered today often does not compare favorably with that of the past in quality or in spirit. At the same time its cost has risen greatly, and it is difficult to find nurses to take types of cases in which the hours or the duties are disagreeable. They felt that there was some truth in the feeling that too much emphasis has been laid in training on the medical and theoretical aspects—with a resulting loss in "basic technical training." In New York state the difficulties of the

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hospitals in regard to their nursing staff are increased by the state act which allows only graduates of schools approved by the New York State Board of Regents to practise in this state as registered nurses. It is difficult to get students to train as nurses. However, the directors of the schools which demand higher entrance requirements reported less trouble in this respect than did the others, and a lower percentage of students who withdrew during the training course. It is the hospital administrators themselves who favor the three-year training course, since they rely on the training school to solve part of their own labor problem, and the longer the apprenticeship, the longer the period of skilled service which comes as their recompense after a nurse has had enough instruction to make her useful.

When it came to discussing the best age at which to take nurses into training, the statements of the directors brought out interesting sidelights:

The young woman of eighteen or nineteen is not so responsive to the restricted hours, the discipline, the intensive trainings, as is the woman in her early twenties. She does not accept responsibility as well. Yet, if, after leaving school at eighteen, the young woman passes two or three years in business, the restrictions of [nursing] training temper her desire for this form of service. During the war, of course, this was not tue, but ordinarily the business or professional girl is not attracted to nurses' training.

One director of a training school said that a woman of from 25 to 35 made the ideal material, "though not after she has been in business. The applicant of this age who trains best comes directly from the home."

NOW if nursing is to hold its own as one of the important professions for women, it must be able, as Miss Burgess pointed out, to offer the conditions necessary to a reasonably wholesome, happy and satisfying life. It must be able to compete with other vocations for women. If a girl who has tried business finds the prospect of training and of nursing service unattractive, should not these conditions be re-examined impartially from the vocational point of view?

Suppose that a Wall Street lawyer were to advertise for a secretary:

Wanted, young woman skilled in handling legal correspondence and familiar with its terminology, to work from 7 a.m. to 7. p.m., seven days a week, two hours off each day, for an indefinite period which may be three days or three months, during which she may not resign. Salary $6 a day.

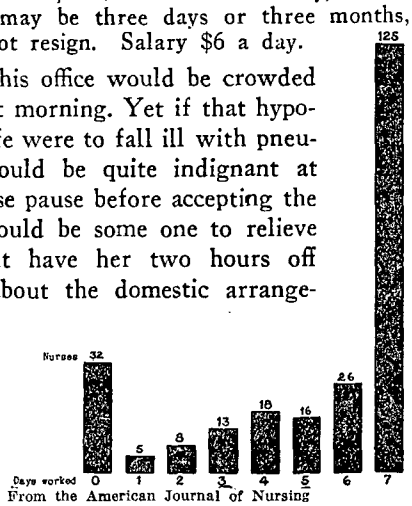
It is not likely that his office would be crowded with applicants the next morning. Yet if that hypothetical gentleman's wife were to fall ill with pneumonia, he probably would be quite indignant at having a registered nurse pause before accepting the case to ask if there would be some one to relieve her so that she might have her two hours off each day, or to ask about the domestic arrangements of the household. That would be an emergency—no time then to haggle over details.

What almost always is an emergency on the side of the patient looks very different to the nurse whose life is just one patient after another. And these are some of the conditions which must be faced by any woman who plans to enter private duty nursing as a profession:

A job which lasts from seven to seven, day or night, with two hours off if something does not prevent. Add to the twelve hours the time spent traveling between home and case.

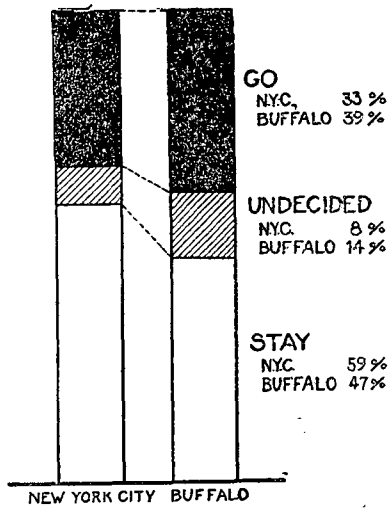
A job which pays as much the day after you leave training as it ever will.

A job which offers little chance of companionship and cooperation of your professional associates, or of the advantages in education, morale and protection which come through sharing in a working organization.



From the American Journal of Nursing

Of 243 private duty nurses in New York city, during one week in September, 1925, 32 did not work at all, 125 worked every day, and the remaining 86 nurses worked part of the week. The "average" nurse worked five days



From the American Journal of Nursing

Per cent of 228 nurses in New York city, and of 99 nurses in Buffalo, who are undecided, and who plan to go into some other field of occupation, September, 1925

A seasonal trade—which is likely to mean continuous weeks of work during the busy season, with no Sundays or holidays off, and then an enforced vacation, without pay, at another time of the year. No paid vacations, and no sick leave, except at your own expense.

No opportunity to leave a piece of work, if it proved distasteful, without violating your professional code, and, at the same time, no assurance as to the length of time which any particular case may last.

A short and unpensioned working life. "It is only the unusual nurse," says the Brooklyn report, "who is useful after fifty years of age—an age when the physician finds himself rendering his best service. The intensive and confining nature of her work with its lack of opportunities for normal development tends to curtail the career of the private duty nurse at an age when her experience should be of greatest value to the community."

The private duty nurses who came before the Brooklyn committee talked about these drawbacks and many others. Frequently, they felt that their time as nurses was wasted. They often must remain on cases where their duties call more for companionship than skilled care. "This not only makes for monotony but is extremely demoralizing—the ambitious nurse reacts from it while the mediocer one frequently succumbs to it." Or they must spend twelve hours or twenty-four hours a day on a case in which the actual nursing care could be performed in three or four hours. Or they sometimes are retained as a mark of social distinction—a kind of modern and hygienic counterpart of the liveried footman who used to ride on the seat of opulent carriages.

By contrast there are the newer forms of nursing organization, such as public health nursing, visiting nurse service, industrial service and the like. "While these other fields sometimes offer less financial remuneration they are attractive because of definitely planned actual nursing work, of the protection that comes through organization and of the supervision that broadens the usefulness of the nurse to the patient." And beyond these purely professional points, are the very justifiable considerations of steady work, with a steady income; of definite hours, with a chance to breakfast and dine at home and a day and a half a week clear for rest and recreation, and some of those other simple elements of a happy and satisfying life.

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While opinions about nurses have been flying thick and fast there has been notably little direct statement from the nurses themselves. By the very nature of their work—scattered, isolated—trained nurses are a hard group to get together, and no one has ever had much exact information as to the conditions in actual practice. When doctors and patients have complained that nurses charged too much, and so on, and so on, and so on, there has been no material to weight a comeback.

So this fall two districts of the New York State Nurses' Association set out to discover some of the salient features of a nurse's life. They sent out letters to nurses in New York city and in Buffalo, with questionnaires headed Your Money and Your Life which asked more than the proverbial twenty questions as to the number of days worked, the hours, the pay, cases refused, the source of the call (doctor, friend, commercial or official registry), the time spent in traveling from home to case, and a number of personal questions as to the way the nurse lived, how much she spent for rent, and whether or not she intended to continue in private duty nursing. All information was to be on the basis of the preceding week in September. The Buffalo group returned 104 filled out questionnaires, the New York, 258. Of course deductions from the answers of so small a group may be not at all representative of nurses in general, or even in the cities in question. But it is planned to expand this method of enquiry to include much larger groups, and to repeat it at intervals of three months, so as to cover the widely different conditions at different times of the year.

In the meantime the results of these preliminary studies are suggestive of the outlines of the problem. The "composite" nurse in each city worked a twelve-hour day; in each case she spent a little more than an hour a day in travel, though that amount varied from two minutes to more than three hours in individual cases. In Buffalo nurses averaged just under five days' work during the week studied; in New York, five and a half days work; that average meant that about half worked a straight seven days, while a considerable number in each group did not work at all, and others were busy only two or three days of the week. The prevailing rate of pay was $5 a day in Buffalo, $6 a day in New York. That meant an average income of $29.38 a week upstate, and of $33.29 in New York. Balance against this an average monthly room rent of $25 in Buffalo, and of $40 in New York. The item of laundry which is so important in a nurse's budget was not included here but will be a part of the next questionnaire.

Put in the terms of an imaginary Miss Smith, this would mean getting up at six, in order to dress and get to the patient's home at seven. At seven she was free again—with another half hour in street car or subway ahead of her. This she might do two days in the week or seven. And if the average of these small groups meant anything, after she had paid room rent, she had about $100 a month for clothing, laundry, food when she did not get it at her patient's home, carfare and so on, and for saving for vacations or against a rainy day of illness or unemployment and old age. The actual rate of pay per hour worked in New York city ranged from twenty-five cents to a dollar. An overwhelming majority charged fifty cents an hour, and the average for the whole group was forty-nine cents. This is about the rate current in that city for a competent laundress or cleaning woman by the day. It does not seem an inordinate reward for a person who has had three years of professional training.

Even more disquieting was the answer to question 16. Not quite half of the Buffalo nurses feel sure that they want to stay in private duty nursing; 39 per cent are sure that they want to leave it, and 14 per cent are undecided. In New York 33 per cent voted to go, 8 per cent were undecided, and 59 per cent anwered "stay." Moreover the numbers who said they wanted to leave this kind of work were much larger among the recent graduates than the older; frequently the reason for staying was "too old to do anything else."

And the reasons for going? At the head of the list in both cases stood "hours too long"; following that came "monthly income too small," "irregular employment," no opportunity for recreation, the work too tiring or too confining. Four of the New York nurses added "It is unpleasant to be idle while on duty."

At present there are about 100,000 graduate nurses in private duty in this country as opposed to 10,000 in public health nursing, industrial work and the allied branches. Yet if this sample of opinion in two small groups of private duty nurses is at all representative of their kind, the shift from the one to the other is to be anticipated.

And it must be recognized that such a shift will be at bottom not a criticism of nursing itself. A visiting nurse or a nurse in an industrial clinic is likely to put in during her shorter working day many times the actual amount of nursing service administered by a nurse in private duty in her twelve hour period. It is rather a reflection of dissatisfaction with the conditions of private duty nursing as it has been developed, and of the increasing opportunities for choice, which make it possible for a woman who loves nursing to look about and pick her field.

While this picture of the life of a private duty nurse is far from rosy, it is hardly darker than the problem which confronts the independent middle-class when they need expert care in sickness. In its report at the end of three years the Cornell Pay Clinic expressed the conviction that the largest group of families in New York city had a family income of about $2,500 a year or approximately $50 a week. Subtract from $50 the cost of one trained nurse at $6 a day or two at $12, and the balance for rent, food, medicine, physicians fees, and the like, approaches zero or sinks below it. When the cost of special nursing must be added to hospital charges the result is even more devastating.

On the basis of the evidence presented before it the Brooklyn committee made several suggestions for experiments which might aid in showing the way to supply adequate skilled nursing service in the community under conditions which would not suffer by comparison with the opportunities for women in other professions and in business. It is hoped that these points will be discussed in further detail in subsequent issues of The Survey.

A central registry for nurses, jointly supervised by physicians and nurses, and carrying all types of nurses on its lists, might help in solving the present situation by making it possible to divert the most highly skilled to cases which require that type of nursing, and the less trained to cases in which the service of an attendant only is needed.

Hourly nursing for certain types of cases might be organized on the basis of visiting nurse service, and paid for at a set and self-supporting rate. (Studies have indicated that this might be $1 or $1.25 an hour, with a lower rate where several consecutive hours were needed.) This plan is under trial in

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a number of visiting nurse associations, aimed to meet the needs of people who require skilled care and are able to pay, but do not need a full time nurse. Apparently a considerable economy of skilled service could be brought about through such a plan which would distribute nursing service according to the amount needed in each case, and not by the day. Such a plan, the Brooklyn committee felt, "would undoubtedly attract the nurse who resents the monotony and other undesirable elements of private duty, and would also bring the cost of this service more within the means of the consumer."

Group nursing might be arranged in hospitals, so that one nurse would care for two, three or four patients at the same time, according to their needs and financial limitations.

Obviously such a series of recommendations only outlines in the most general terms some of the set of questions which must be studied and solved. Nursing care is an important social resource. Under the existing circumstances it is becoming impossibly expensive for the largest section of the population. And, on the other hand, it apparently is failing increasingly to offer a satisfactory way of life or an adequate money return to the women who engage in it professionally. If it is to hold its historic place and its hard-won standards—if there is to be no merely easy solution, such as poor nursing for the poor and skilled nursing for the rich—there must be impartial study, work, and cooperation on the part of nurses, doctors and public alike to adjust it to meet the changed needs of a changing order.

MARY ROSS

The Hard-of-Hearing Child

IF we should try going about for a day or an hour even with our ears stuffed with cotton, suddenly stilling the pleasant sounds of life, we might better appreciate the handicap of deafness, and the tragic plight of a little child or a young person who is losing his hearing. At first he is bewildered and confused. He does not realize what is wrong. He does not suspect that a sinister wall of silence is slowly closing in about him. He only knows he appears dull and backward, that he irritates his teachers and other older people, and that he does not understand what is expected of him as he used to. He drops behind in his studies. He may hear bothersome noises which, strangely enough, are inside—not outside—his head. Gradually he begins to shun people, and not infrequently he becomes high-strung and nervous. Unless something is done for this child he may grow up into an abnormal and ignorant adult, unfitted to take his place in the world. In countless instances this is an appallingly true, but unnecessary picture, for both preventive and remedial measures are available.

In nine cases out of ten progressive deafness starts in childhood. It is estimated conservatively that in New York city alone there are 25,000 children of school age who have defective hearing. In an average school in Chicago among 1093 children examined 62 cases of catarrhal deafness were discovered. With these figures as a basis it is probable that of the 411,000 school children in Chicago at least 23,313 do not possess normal hearing. In the elementary schools of Washington, D.C., 1,412 children are hard of hearing. In Rochester, New York, it is believed there are between 3,000 and 3,500 children who are sufficiently deafened to handicap them in their school work.

Since these startling statements are not mere hearsay but the estimates of leading ear specialists who make them only after extensive study and careful surveys, they demand attention. They mean the casting aside of that old fashioned, comfortable theory that deafness is more or less confined to elderly folk and is a natural accompaniment of old age, which dulls the senses. Far more than that they mean the public must awaken to its urgent responsibilities by preventing or curing deafness in children as often as possible, and by giving them special training whenever prevention or cure cannot be achieved.

The Deaf and the Deafened

"Deafened" or "hard-of-hearing" children should not be confused with "deaf children." The latter term refers to those who have been deaf from birth or very early childhood so that they do not know what sound is; while the two former terms designate those who have lost part or all of their hearing after they know perfectly the meaning of sound. A good deal has been done everywhere for *deaf* children. Special schools are provided for them where, among other things, they now are taught to understand, less through signs and more through reading the lips, and also are taught to speak.

Deafened or hard-of-hearing children have been practically neglected. One reason for this neglect is our present general ignorance of deafness and its insidiousness, which often makes it possible for it to become fairly advanced before it is detected. A patent deformity calls attention to itself, and when people plainly see something amiss they usually try to remedy it—witness the helpful work for crippled children. Now that the public is being informed about the evils which come from infected teeth, adenoids and tonsils it is taking measures to protect children from these evils.

Preventing Deafness

The most important first step in a program against deafness is to secure recognition for the fact that repeated colds, earaches from any cause whatever, running ears, a high arched palate, any nasal obstruction, infected tonsils, adenoids, measles, influenza, scarlet fever, and so on, may all cause deafness and therefore that the ears should be frequently and regularly examined and should be treated immediately if even the most minor trouble is discovered. Where hearing is concerned nothing should be considered too slight a disorder to merit meticulous care. What may seem trivial at the time may prove to be the means of bringing on deafness in later years.

The necessity of examination of children's noses, throats and ears at regular intervals cannot be stressed too emphatically. If possible these examinations should be made in the schools. To prevent and to cure deafness among children there must be constant and intelligent cooperation of doctors, teachers, social workers, public health and Red Cross nurses, parents, and above all the general public. Perhaps the first responsibility rests with the doctors and parents who, if they insist upon it, will be able to secure better care of children's ears.

The Service of Lip Reading

Children whose deafness cannot be prevented need special training and instruction, which should be provided by teachers who thoroughly understand the peculiar psychology of the deafened child. First of all deafened children must learn lip-reading—the art of understanding what is said

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through reading the words formed by the speaker's lips without hearing the sound of his voice. Without a knowledge of lip-reading it is practically impossible for them to learn anything else. Lip-reading then first, last, and all the time; hearing instruments are useless in certain kinds of deafness and in its highly advanced stages.

Give Them a Chance

Jimmy, a bright attractive boy of six with a fondness for music and a sweet, clear singing voice, was left totally deafened, frail and nervous by scarlet fever and mastoiditis. Yet he went into a small public school where the teacher gave him special attention. Now after two and one half years he can write a very good letter, he has finished two fourth readers, and is studying arithmetic and third grade language work. Nobody makes signs at him but everybody *talks* to him, and he has learned to understand through reading the lips. At home he is treated with unusual sympathy and understanding. He is interested in flowers and knows a good deal about them. He has some skill in building. He has taken entire care of more than a hundred hens. He can ride horseback and knows how to milk a cow. Remember he is absolutely deafened and that he is only between nine and ten years old. No one treats him as a backward boy.

Dr. Franklin W. Bock of Rochester, N. Y., who was a pioneer in starting a clinic for the prevention of deafness, tells of one boy who was sent home from school because he seemed unable to learn anything. An examination proved he had defective hearing. He was treated and learned to read lips, and immediately it was found he could learn other things too. He finished high school and college, with high honors, and is now assistant professor in a university!

Another boy brought a report card which read, "We think this boy cannot learn; you had better get him into some work." After it was discovered that he was hard-of-hearing he was treated and sent back to school where his teachers were asked to show him special attention. He acquired a knowledge of lip-reading, and later graduated from college a Phi Beta Kappa student. These illustrations could be duplicated many times over. The degree of deafness and the skill in lip-reading determine, of course, whether hard-of-hearing children can be taught in the same classes with children of normal hearing, or whether they should have part or all of their work in classes by themselves.

What's to Be Done?

Through the devoted work, and the determined persistence of a few eager people—doctors and deafened adults with a vision and unflagging purpose—it has been demonstrated in Rochester and Buffalo, New York; in Cambridge, Fall River and Lynn, Massachusetts; in Chicago, and in a few other cities that hard-of-hearing children can be cured, or if not cured, can be taught to overcome a great part of their handicap. It remains now for the citizens of every other city and village to follow the lead of these pioneers by making adequate school provision for their hard-of-hearing children through regular examination and treatment of the ears of all children, and through the introduction of lip-reading in all public schools. This may seem a formidable task, but it is worth a tremendous effort, for thousands of children can thus be kept from deafness, while many others already deafened can be cured, and the incurably deafened ones can be properly treated and trained, so that they may look forward to a happily adjusted life, with normal human relationships and the capacity for self-support.

CAROLINE E. VOSE

SOME ingenious statistician has computed that if all the seals printed this year by the National Tuberculosis Association were piled on each other, one hundred seals to a sheet, the sheets would make a tower a mile higher than Mt. McKinley plus most of the New York skyline—also end to end—including the Woolworth tower, the Singer Building, the Bankers' Trust, the Equitable Building, the Municipal Building, the Whitehall Building, the Western Union and the World Tower. New York state expects that final reports will show that it has acquired more than half a million dollars from the seal sale to finance a state program for tuberculosis and health work, including a campaign against diphtheria.

THE HIGH COST of having babies is one of the phenomena which has recently escaped from inarticulate family budgets to find sympathetic treatment in magazine articles and surveys. A recent study by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company finds that if maternity care is given by a general practitioner either in a patient's home or in a hospital in New York city, the minimum cost will be around $150 including an allowance of $70 for household service at home; better care can be procured for $100 more. The services of a specialist raise this minimum to between $400 and $500. In 1924 close to 20 per cent of the births in New York city were attended by midwives and it is believed that $35 would represent an average midwife's fee, while the fact that the midwife usually gives postpartum nursing care also makes this kind of care appreciably less than the services of a physician. The outpatient service maintained by a few hospitals is even less expensive—sometimes free, sometimes at a cost of $10—but seems to be diminishing in popularity as shown by the declining number of births so reported, while, on the contrary, hospitalization of maternity cases is steadily increasing. "In round figures," declares the report, "we may say that for the rank and file of the community, provided no abnormalities of labor occur, it costs from $200 to $300 to be born. This outlay may not be a big item in the total cost of a man, since it occurs but once for each individual, and may, therefore, be considered distributed over the mean length of life, say 55 years. But the fact is that this item has actually to be met at one point of time, and coming thus as a lump sum, it is in most families of moderate means felt as a considerable burden for the parents. In fact, it is undoubtedly the anticipation of greatly increased expenses, the sudden demands made on the family exchequer when a child is born and for some time after, that causes many people of limited income to favor the policy of the restricted family."

SO MANY and so important are the recent legislative and court actions in regard to eugenical sterilization that a new reference book has been needed. To meet that need The American Eugenics Society (185 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.) has just published a Historical, Legal and Statistical Review of Eugenical Sterilization in the United States, by Harry H. Laughlin of the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, bringing the material down to January 1, 1926.

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The "Aged Citizens" of Massachusetts

NEARLY one in four citizens of Massachusetts, after reaching the age of sixty-five, requires assistance because he or she has been unable to accumulate sufficient property and income to meet the minimum needs for food and shelter of old persons.

The 43,000 such candidates for old age pensions do not represent the total amount of dependency among the aged of the state, as there are now 35,000 persons over sixty-five years of age who are receiving their support from public sources or from organized charity.

Nearly half of the men and women who have attained the increasingly common age of seventy-five have annual incomes of less than $300—an amount insufficient to supply humble shelter and meager food, much less the medical care and attendance required during a period of declining mental and physical powers. These are the conditions in a state which boasts of exceptional success in the prolongation of life, revealed by the most recent and thorough of our studies of the condition of the aged in the United States.

The Massachusetts Commission on Old Age Pensions has just presented the newly assembled legislators with the results of its efforts, during the past two years, to "ascertain the number of persons who would be entitled to the benefits of such a system of pensions, the probable initial expense incident to its establishment, the expense throughout a period of twenty-five years thereafter and the effect which such establishment might have on the amount of funds expended in public and private charity." The family relations, past and present occupations and the economic resources of more than 30,000 of the 225,000 residents of Massachusetts who are sixty-five years old or over are analyzed in the statistical tables of the Report. Computations are published showing probable costs of non-contributory pension systems for seven different population and age groups. Eight appendices give careful analyses of the privately supported pension plans of business, professional, labor and fraternal groups; of the legislation providing old age pensions and insurance in other states and foreign countries; and of previous efforts at studying and providing for the aged of Massachusetts.

ABOUT 15 per cent of the old people of the State are receiving support from public or charitable funds at the present time. This includes 18,000 military and civil pensioners, 3,000 inmates of jails and hospitals for the insane, and 14,000 who are cared for in almshouses and homes for the aged, or receive outdoor relief from public or private charitable funds. There remains 85 per cent, or about 190,000 old people whose support must come from earnings, from the incomes of past accumulations, or from the contributions of relatives and friends. A carefully selected sample of more than 17,000 of this latter group were interviewed by field agents of the Commission in order to discover the extent to which these resources meet their needs, and the probable number who would become beneficiaries of any non-contributory, old-age pension system which might be established.

Massachusetts is one of the wealthiest states in the Union; its per capita income in 1919 of $788 was equaled or exceeded in only five other states. The extent to which the past generation shares this wealth is shown in the accompanying chart. Two in every five of her old people have managed to accumulate property to the value of $5,000 or more. Evidently their property is in a stable form, as the proportion with this much remains the same in each age group above sixty-five. However, *incomes* of those with less property show a progressive decrease during the ten years between sixty-five and seventy-five; the proportion with incomes of $1,000 or more falls from one in five to one in twenty, and the old persons with no incomes increase from one in ten to one in four. If we assume that an income of $400 is required to meet the needs of an old person, the proportion with less than this minimum subsistence increases from one-fourth to nearly one-half (47 per cent).

A marked tendency to pile up at the extremes is shown in the distributions of this chart, as well as in all other statistical tables of the Report presenting resources of the aged. The group where enough has been accumulated to make possible financial independence, or even comfort, and the group having no resources whatever, are both much larger than intermediate ones capable of partial self-support. Thus there are about 104,000 of the population sixty-five years old or over who have accumulated property worth $5,000 or more, or incomes of not less than $1,000 dollars, and 35,000 without resources, 14,000 of whom are being cared for by institutional or outdoor relief funds. Numbers in intermediate groups are relatively small. This distribution indicates that old-age dependency is the product of definite personal, economic or social factors which affect a large portion of the population to an extent which it is difficult or impossible to combat. No previous public document has presented the American public with so complete an analysis of these factors which produce one of the most serious of our economic maladjustments. The present brief review can only scratch the surface of this mine of information, rich in ore adapted to the use of those who wish to devise plans for the prevention, as well as for the relief, of human wretchedness.

THE predominance of the childless and widowed among the aged dependents raises the question whether misfits are unavoidable in a society which distributes wealth to individuals, but expects its consumption to adjust itself automatically to rapidly changing family groups. Definite relationships between the numbers of surviving children and

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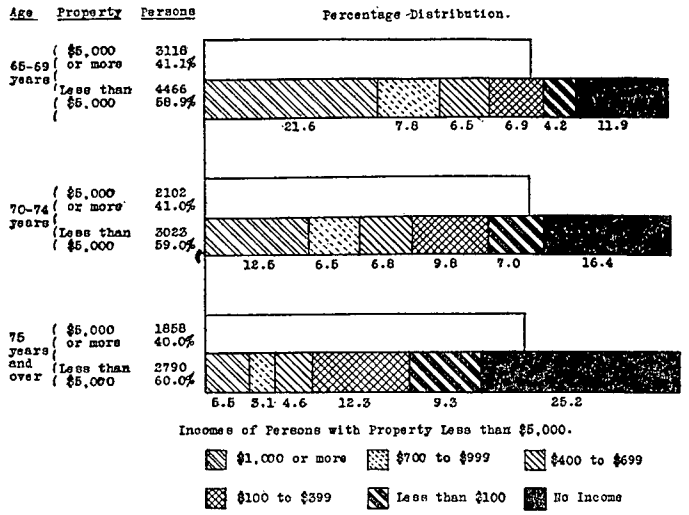

Financial resources shown by Massachusetts' study of the aged

the old-age dependency of parents are established in the statistical tables of the report. Thus it is estimated that the non-dependent aged of limited resources had about 260 living children to a hundred parents; recipients of outdoor relief about 100 children to 100 parents; residents of private homes 57 children to 100 parents; and almshouse inmates 67 children to 100 parents. In the group of poor but independent old people, the ability of children to meet fully the needs of parents varied inversely with their number; full support could be offered in 70 per cent of the families having but one child and in 93 per cent of those having more than five living children. About one in seven of those who had been married was childless in old age, and one in eight of the old persons, whose limited means made it probable that assistance would be necessary, had never married.

Wherever old-age pensions have been established, it is found that about two-thirds of the beneficiaries are women, chiefly widowed housewives. The more sheltered life of the home enables them to survive their older husbands on whose earnings they have depended for support. These bewildered old women usually are quite incapable of gainful employment. Thus in Massachusetts there are 128 women to every 100 men sixty-five years of age or older, and in the typical sample group studied by the Commission it was found that more than 64 per cent of the old persons who had no resources were single, widowed or divorced women. Nearly 80 per cent of the aged women whose limited property or incomes made it probable that they would be in need of assistance reported that they had been housewives during their earlier years.

This overwhelming evidence of the sufferings and deprivation which make wretched the old age of large numbers of women who have devoted their lives to home making raises the question why the men responsible for their support failed to protect them by insurance. Persons unable to accumulate property to the amount of $5,000, or to obtain an income of as much as $1,000, rarely provided insurance which would do more than pay for the doctoring and burial of the first member of the family who died. Nearly two-thirds (63.9 per cent) of those interviewed had no insurance, and less than one in ten (8.8 per cent) carried insurance policies of $500 or more. Insurance salesmen had reached city dwellers more generally, as 40 per cent of city residents carried insurance, but only 24 per cent of those in towns, and hardly a person in many of the smaller rural communities.

FORMER and present occupations, ages of impairment and loss of earning capacity, and the probable causes, are reported for men and women of both non-dependent and dependent groups. More than half of the men sixty-five years old and over who had less than $5,000 in property and incomes under $1,000 had no gainful occupations, and this was true also of 70 per cent of those who were receiving outdoor relief. More than 40 per cent of the men who formerly had been employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries claimed that they retained some earning capacity, but the "odd jobs" group is the only one which shows an increase in old age. Laborers, textile mill work, building trades and wood work, in the order named, were the occupations most frequently retained by these old men. Two-thirds of the aged men who are now dependent, or whose reserves of money or property were so small that dependency is probable in the near future, were employed in industry during their years of full strength. This was true also of over half of the deceased husbands of the large groups of indigent and dependent widows. The chief new, old-age occupations were janitors and elevator tenders.

The women interviewed by the field workers admitted much less loss of earning power than the men; thus 42 per cent of the women and 27 per cent of the men said their capacity for work was unimpaired, and only 20 per cent of the women compared with 44 per cent of the men confessed to total loss of earning power. About two-thirds of the women were continuing their services as housewives, and only one in four said she had no occupation. The new vocations usually entered by those forced to earn a living in unaccustomed ways were boarding and lodging-housekeepers, companions, laundresses, cleaners and housekeepers. While women reached old age with less physical disability than the men, it is probable that they overestimated their capacity for gainful employment. The report points out that "ability to work and earning power are not synonymous terms in the case of aged women. Many women who are in good health and able to do their own housework, which was generally not particularly heavy, could earn nothing in modern industry and probably very little as houseworkers for others." The loss of earning power was more rapid in cities than in towns for both men and women.

LITTLE originality is shown in the recommendations, on which the commission failed to reach an agreement. A majority of three of the five members were convinced that a state of need among the aged population far beyond what has been anticipated or realized by the general public is revealed by the report. They declare that the facts presented

> seem clearly to call for a general and well organized system of relief or assistance on the part of the state as a sign of the determination of the community to protect its aged citizens from the extreme hardships which so largely now overwhelm them in old age, and to obviate the fear of the stigma of pauperism which under present conditions is shown strikingly by these figures, and which forms a large part of the life of a considerable proportion of the population as their earning power decreases and finally vanishes.

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Details of the old-age assistance proposed and of plans for its administration are presented in an elaborate Act containing thirty-five sections. It provides that

> The amount of assistance shall be fixed with due regard to the condition in each case, but in no case shall it be an amount which, when added to the income of the applicant from all other sources, shall exceed a total of one dollar a day, provided, that personal earnings of the applicant, not exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars per annum, shall not be deducted from the amount of the assistance; and provided, further, that no assistance shall be granted to any applicant whose income exceeds one dollar a day.

This assistance is to be granted to persons seventy years old and over, who have been citizens of the United States for at least twenty-five years, and resided in Massachusetts for not less than twenty years. Pensions are to be refused to persons having responsible relatives able to support them, and to those owning property worth more than three thousand dollars. Funds to pay these pensions are to be provided by a poll tax of two dollars levied "on every inhabitant of the Commonwealth" over twenty years old, and by an increase of one half of 1 per cent in the rate of the present income tax.

Immediately after the report of the commission was made public, persons interested in promoting a non-contributory, old-age pension made plans to enlist directly popular support for a measure embodying the provisions of the majority report, but the attorney general blocked the movement by refusing to certify their bill as suitable for an initiative petition.

The minority report signed by Frank H. Hardison, chairman of the commission, and Allyn A. Young, a Harvard University economics professor, devotes itself chiefly to a careful criticism of the manifold crudities and economic risks of the plans for old-age relief proposed by the majority. It declares that the lack of elasticity must result in frequent failures to meet adequately the needs of the aged, as a large proportion require personal supervision and institutional care; the administrative difficulties are very great, since it would make necessary the organization and training of a new set of local officials competent to determine who should receive the pensions; that countries where long trial has been given to systems of non-contributory old-age pensions have found the difficulties of dealing with the "means qualifications" so great that serious consideration has been given to whether it would be better to grant pensions to all citizens beyond a given age limit, and the British Act of 1925 abandons the non-contributory pension in favor of insurance paid for by the worker, employer and state; that these easily obtained public grants would discourage thrifty savings and efforts to find old-age employment, and would retard the development of more adequate plans of insurance; and that there would be efforts in the future to lower the age limit and increase the stipend, and the ultimate result would be the unsupervised expenditure of enormous sums of unearned money by persons of proven incapacity for thrift and self-control.

As an alternative plan the minority wish to apply to the relief of the aged the principle now embodied in the Massachusetts mothers' aid law. It is proposed that relief be given by local officials under supervision from the state Department of Public Welfare, and that the state reimburse cities and towns for one-third of the expense incurred in aiding persons with local settlements, and for the entire amount spent in aid of persons without such settlements. The following section of the proposed Act to Discover and Minister to the Needs of Aged Citizens aims to open the way for educational supervision which might gradually standardize the assistance given the aged poor, so that the public desire to relieve them of anxiety and suffering will be more adequately realized:

> *Section* 3. Whenever an aged citizen or any one in his behalf is dissatisfied with a decision of the board in regard to the care of an aged citizen, he may appeal to the department which shall visit the aged citizen, investigate the case and make such finding as in its judgment seems necessary by the facts disclosed, which finding shall be furnished to the board and be binding upon it. The department shall be the final judge should there be any disagreement on any issue respecting the administration of this act whether as to amount of an allowance, method and place of giving care in any case, or otherwise, and the department shall in the interest of uniformity make rules and regulations not in conflict with this act.

Such a conservative plan will not appeal to persons who have faith in simple and easy remedies for the evils of our complex economic system. It fails to deal with two social-psychological "complexes" which reinforce the popularity of non-contributory pension schemes. First, the harsh policies of stern New England forefathers have established inseparable associations between poor relief and a degree of personal unfitness sufficient to forfeit the respect of the local community which must bestow the assistance, and this connection is augmented by the fact that those who are merely unfortunate frequently must share their economic dependence with the degraded and criminal. Second, there is widespread resentment of the very evident injustices of the present distribution of wealth created by group activities, and a desire to devise some plan which will operate automatically to overcome to some extent the economic inequalities of our present capitalistic system. Skillful re-education by tactful and sympathetic officials from the state Department of Public Welfare in charge of old-age relief may overcome the first obstacle, and it is possible that other means should be sought for reaching the second.

LUCILE EAVES

Social Work Salaries

SOCIAL work is not often recommended as a remunerative calling. The impression persists that in considerable measure its practice should constitute its own reward. Some social workers themselves hold and advocate this view; and it is undoubtedly true that few have entered this field in the hope of liberal financial return. This fact may explain the apathy with which the present low salaries of social work are borne. It is not the purpose of this article to explain why social work salaries are low, but rather to present evidence which seems to indicate that both actually and relatively they are much too low to augur well for the development of social work as a profession.

The series of diagrams on the following page tells concisely what has happened to the wage in this occupation during the last thirteen years. They present some of the significant results of a brief study undertaken last summer by the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation with the purpose of tracing the course of salaries in social work over the period of rising prices and wages during

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and just after the war, and through the subsequent period of adjustment up to the present time. Because the data on which the study is based are not numerous, the results should not be proferred without reservations. These may best be made by explaining briefly the source and nature of the data themselves.

The study was planned for quick completion. Carefully devised forms were sent out to about two hundred social work organizations well scattered over the United States with requests for records of actual salaries, classified by position, paid in one month (the same month each year) of each year since 1913, or for so many of these years as might be possible. To do this was not a small task, and while the response was good, some of the returns were delayed; the last were received in December. In all, 129 organizations and in 1925, 2,100 persons are represented by the data used.

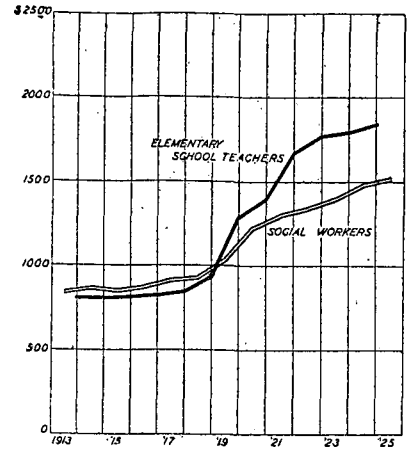

Chart 2. Comparison of annual salaries of teachers and of social workers since 1913

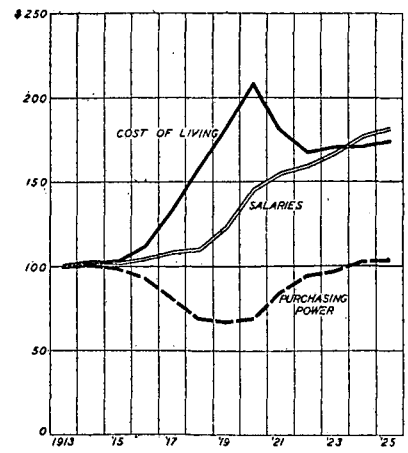

Chart 3. Purchasing power of the social worker's salary in per cent of 1913

Obviously the results deal with organized social work. The larger organizations are represented in greater proportion than the small ones. Family and child welfare, including probation, outweigh other fields. The data, though few, were submitted to intensive classification, and the agreement shown by the results obtained after numerous subdivisions affords the best evidence we have that they are representative.

The series of diagrams at the bottom of the page show for executives, sub-executives, supervisors, and staff, the course of salaries since 1913 in cities of more than 300,000 population. Of 21 such cities in the United States, 17 are represented, and they account for 61 of the 129 organizations. By staff is meant the lower rank of professional workers: in family case work, the case worker; in child welfare work, the field worker. The curves trace average, specifically median, salaries in four groups of organizations: those with 5 to 14; 15 to 24; 25 to 49; and 50 or more professional workers, respectively, as indicated in the first diagram. Only full time salaries are recorded.

Briefly the facts shown in this diagram are these. Actual salaries have been gradually increasing since 1913. For the two lower grades of position the increase began not much before 1916. The salaries of executives have advanced much more both actually and relatively than have the salaries of other grades of positions. With the exception of the salaries of executives in the larger organizations, social work salaries in 1925 are surprisingly low. Size of organization has a direct effect on the amount of salaries of executives. Sub-executives in the largest organizations are paid distinctly more than sub-executives in smaller organizations. Size of organization affects very little the salaries of supervisors and of the rank and file of the staff.

Diagrams for cities of from 100,000 to 300,000 population, and for smaller cities, give similar salary trends and similar levels of salaries for the lower grades of position. The full series of overlapping curves for staff combine to give a single curve beginning in 1913 at a monthly rate of about $70 and ending in 1925 at $126. Equivalent annual salaries are $840 and $1,517. Perhaps 75 per cent of all social work personnel is "staff." Staff includes recent recruits but it also includes the majority of the experienced social workers. It is with these salaries particularly that we are concerned. They are the representative social work salaries. Moreover they would very largely determine the average for all social workers.

Chart 2 presents an interesting contrast between teachers' salaries and salaries for social workers. Here comparison is best made in terms of yearly salaries, but it should be recalled that the school year represents

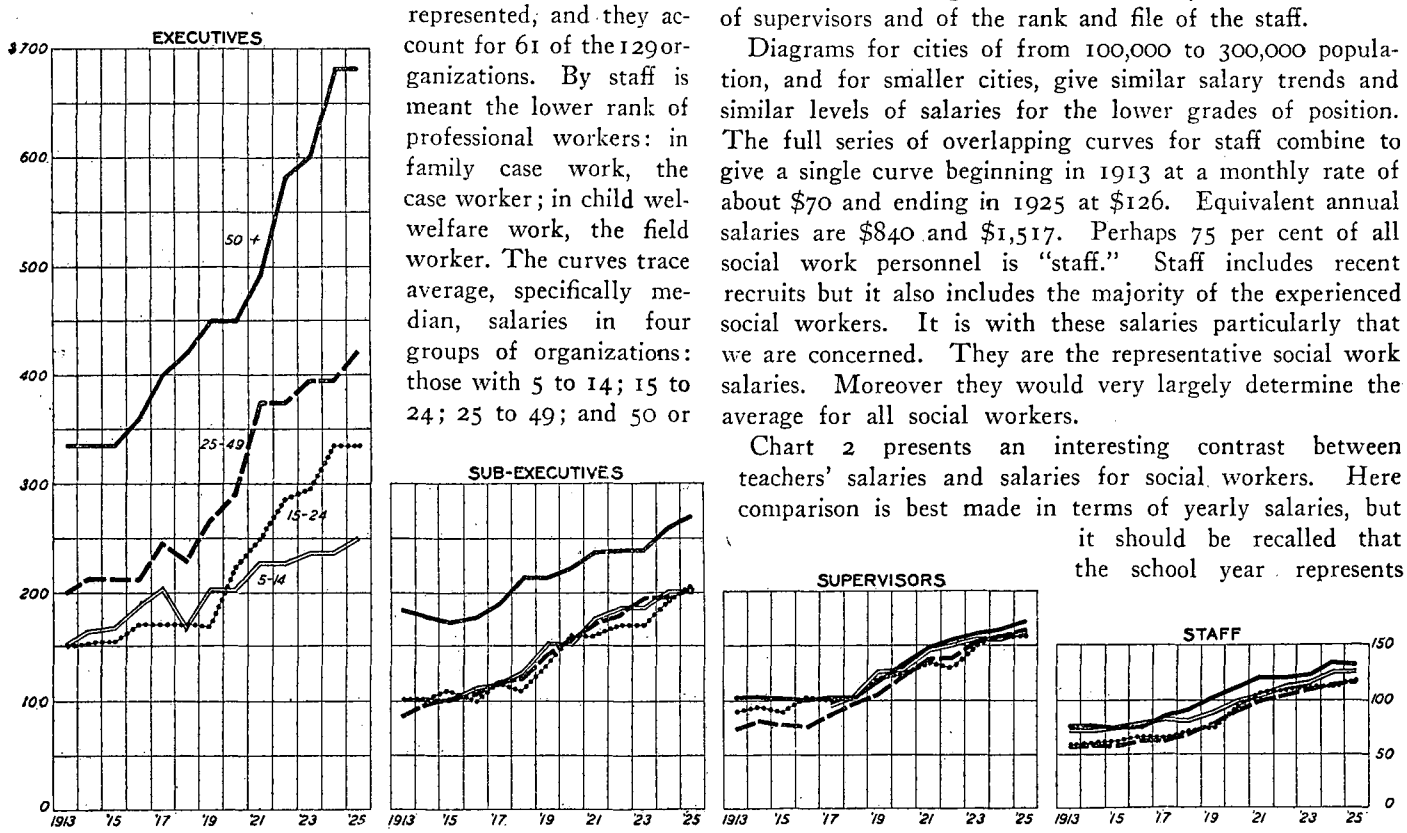

Chart 1. The course of full-time monthly salaries of social workers in large cities classified according to position and size of organization

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from nine to ten months, as compared with 11 months for social work. The curve for teachers is in fact for elementary school teachers, omitting principals, in cities of more than 100,000 population, exclusive be it noted of New York. It is based on data published by the National Education Association. The social work curve in this diagram is also for cities of over 100,000 population, but with New York included. Teachers' salaries reacted more quickly to the tide of rising prices, and more effectively than did salaries of social workers. It seems fairly evident that this was the result of effective organization to secure action on salaries. The typical elementary teacher's wage in 1925 is shown as $1,844 per year, which in many cases is augmented by some pension allowance, and often also by extra work in summer. The corresponding figure for salaries of senior high school teachers is $2,434. Contrasted with this is the typical annual social work salary of $1,517.

Among the numerous price indexes now available, there is none to chart the cost of living for single professional workers. Lacking this it is profitable to compare the meager increase in social work salaries since 1913 with the rise in the cost of living "for workingmen's families," to which each of the three available indexes of the cost of living in the United States applies. This comparison is shown in Chart 3. Cost of living rose sharply from 1915 to 1920 while social work salaries were moving very moderately, and the value of the social work salary dropped to a low point. With the decline of prices in 1921 and 1922 social work salaries gained in value, but the salary curve catches up with the cost of living *only in* 1924 and in 1925 is barely above it. The ratio of salaries to cost of living gives the index of "real" salaries, or of purchasing power, which is also shown in this chart. This curve drops from 1913 to 1919, where it registers a value 32 per cent below the 1913 level. After 1920 the curve rises, but in 1925 it shows social workers only about three per cent better off than they were thirteen years ago, notwithstanding the greatly increased requirements for social work, which mean materially more education and training, and probably more experience on the part of the average worker.

Social work is confronted at the moment with a marked shortage of workers. Most social work organizations experience high turnover; some as high as 50 per cent in the course of a year. This field presents the condition, anomalous in the light of the law of supply and demand, of scarcity of workers and low wages. Lack of funds for social work is the common excuse offered. High turnover and lowered standards must be the cost paid. Neglecting the injustice this imposes on the social worker, it has important bearing on the character of the work. It is open to question how far professional social work can advance on the wage theory carried over from the time when social work was merely benevolence.

RALPH G. HURLIN

HALF of all the relief given during the last fiscal year by the Social Welfare League of Rochester, N. Y., was charged to sickness, equalling the total debited to unemployment, part-time employment, desertion and non-support, widowhood and old age combined. In explaining this fact, the League cites a study recently made of 737 families known to it during the past year. The largest number of applications came from families in which the man was from 35 to 40 years old, or at an age when the average wage earner is at the peak of his responsibility and also of his greatest earning capacity. According to the amounts actually spent by these families for rent (a weekly average of $6.54) insurance, and fuel and light, and the League's estimates of the minimum for food, clothing, carfares, and miscellaneous household expenses, a steady minimum wage of $28.35 a week, would be required for a family of five. Yet the general wage average, where wages were known was $24.40, and 75 per cent had a wage under $30 a week. In other words, the average income indicated by this study was appreciably less than the amount needed for a family with three (the average) number of children. "Much more serious," continues the report, "is the situation in families with four, five and six children—comprising approximately one-third of the total number studied. Good industrial conditions and good luck help many of these families to remain independent, but let the wage earner become disabled for a few days or lose his job or let any member of his family become sick, necessitating a little extra expense, and assistance from a family-caring agency is imperative. This is the chief reason why one-half of our relief expenditure of nearly $46,000 is charged to *sickness.*"

FOR THE BENEFIT of those who are concerned with the wellbeing of children in institutions and in groups, the Department of Welfare of Pennsylvania has published a bulletin on Child Nutrition compiled by Katharine A. Pritchett, its consultant in administrative nutrition. It gives concrete suggestions for a well-balanced diet with sample menus, and suggests some of the ways in which an institution may use its food budget—approximately a fifth of its total budget for maintenance—in the most effective and economical way. From the Chicago Association of Day Nurseries comes another useful brochure for workers with children, this time on Play Equipment for the Nursery. It is especially designed for the day nursery which is without an educational director, and includes such playthings as can be used safely and profitably with only the supervision of the superintendent or an assistant. Copies may be obtained for ten cents postpaid from the Association at 308 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

AS in many other fields of social legislation, there are nearly as many kinds of adoption proceedings under the law as there are states in the Union. A summary of the development of adoption legislation in the United States showing the significant features of adoption statutes, with the text of selected laws, has been prepared by Emelyn Foster Peck under the supervision of the director of the social service division of the Children's Bureau, and has just appeared as Bureau Publication No. 148, Adoption Laws in the United States.

SHIFTING CURRENTS in problems of family case work are apparent in the comparison of a causal factor analysis of the 1913 cases of the Boston Provident Association with the corresponding data for 1923-4. Families in whose history industrial accident stood as the outstanding problem had declined from 13 per cent to 6.3 per cent of the total number during that period; tuberculosis showed an even greater drop—from 14 per cent to 4.6 per cent; intemperance fell from 20 per cent in 1913 to 1 per cent in 1919, then rose to 9.9. per cent in 1923-4, since which time it has showed a slight decline. On the other hand unemployment played an even larger part in the Association's records: 44.2 per cent of their families showed it as a factor instead of the 28 per cent ten years earlier. Illness appeared in the records of 39.5 per cent as opposed to the previous 30 per cent, despite the striking decline in tuberculosis, while the incidence of desertion and non-support was 15 per cent in 1913 and 11.5 per cent in 1923-4.

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Insurance Through the Savings Bank

SAVINGS bank life insurance—characterized by Governor Calvin Coolidge as "an effort to get and keep one of the necessities of life at cost"—an effort to provide facilities for thrift and self-help for the people of Massachusetts—is an institution of great and growing significance in that commonwealth, but not so widely known outside the boundaries of that state.

To a New Yorker, or a Kentuckian, or a Vermonter, the words savings bank life insurance convey not the remotest suggestion of a bitter struggle between public rights on the one hand, and vested wrongs on the other; of remedial legislation enacted as the result of a five months' battle won against terrific odds; of the fine development and growth of a purely mutual life insurance institution, which, by reason of the concessions forced by it from the weekly premium insurance companies, is saving about seven million dollars *annually* to the people of Massachusetts, about fifteen million dollars *annually* to the people of New York state, and about seventy million dollars *annually* to the people of the United States.

From the outset the character of the institution has been such as to at tract to its support the best men and women from every walk of life—the more thrifty among the workers, the most public-spirited among the employers, and the most thoughtful and far-seeing among the political leaders. It has had the personal friendly endorsement of five governors of Massachusetts.

Governor Coolidge, in a letter of May 7, 1920, expressed himself as follows:

> The fact that the working people of Massachusetts have united in this effort to get and keep one of the necessities of life at cost is incontrovertible evidence that it is still possible to establish here an institution in line with the old Massachusetts public spirit, which some persons are apt to refer to as if it were wholly a tradition of the past. The results which you and your associates have accomplished show that there has been kept fully alive in your midst the spirit in which your institution was founded, namely, that life insurance for the person of small means should be conducted as a social service and not as a commercial undertaking.

When that letter was written the amount of business in force under the savings bank insurance plan was $14,890,622, representing insurance on the lives of 31,589 persons. During the five and a half years since that time, the amount of business has increased to $39,358,541, representing insurance on the lives of 52,215 persons; that is, an increase of 164 per cent in the amount of business in force and an increase of 65.29 per cent in the number of persons insured. During this time also the number of savings-insurance banks has increased from four to ten.

During a period of twenty-six years prior to 1905, the expense cost of weekly premium insurance averaged 44.48 cents out of every dollar paid as premium. In 1905, during the Hughes investigation the vice president of the largest of the weekly premium insurance companies stated that "The expense of industrial insurance is undoubtedly high, but unavoidable"; and the president of the same company said, "You might safely assume that the ordinary man of modest means working on a week's wages, or a day's wages, pays twice for the necessities of life as compared with a man better off."

"He pays twice for his life insurance?" Mr. Hughes asked.

"He has to," replied the insurance president. "He is willing to pay it. We have adopted all sorts of ways to cheapen it. . . . But the man would not leave his shop, or the woman her sewing machine." And so on.

These words, spoken under oath, kindled in Massachusetts a fire of constructive criticism, which grew and spread until it registered itself on the statute books of Massachusetts in the form of the savings bank life insurance law. (Chap. 561 Acts of 1907. Mass. Gen. Laws, Chapter 178.)

THE idea of utilizing the mutual savings banks of Massachusetts as the medium through which to write life insurance originated with Justice Brandeis, then practicing law in Boston.

Mr. Brandeis rested his plan upon the assumption that many of the thrifty persons who, without solicitation of any kind, had deposited $900,000,000 in the Massachusetts savings banks for safekeeping and investment, would also come to the savings bank for the purpose of depositing their life insurance premiums, if by so doing the cost to them would be substantially lessened.

The plan was termed, by some of the commercial life insurance companies, utterly impractical. They argued that if it had been possible to persuade people to purchase life insurance without paid solicitors, they themselves, with millions of dollars available for advertising, would have succeeded in doing so, and they predicted speedy disaster. As recently as March, 1915, an insurance publication in New York designated savings bank life insurance as a "weak-legged scheme," adding:

> The benefits of insurance under this particular plan as compared with plans which travel on their own merits and at their own costs are what the slang of the day calls piffle or bunk.

The proposed law placed no savings bank under obligation to establish an insurance department, nor did it contemplate that the assets of the insurance department should be in any way identified with the assets of the savings department, the insurance department being required to establish reserves on the same basis as any legal reserve life insurance company doing business in Massachusetts.

Notwithstanding the attitude of the industrial insurance companies during the Hughes investigation, they did nevertheless find a way to improve conditions somewhat, as soon as this movement in Massachusetts began to take definite

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form. After the Brandeis plan had been presented to the Recess Insurance Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1906, and it became known that the committee would recommend the plan to the incoming legislature, and after the organization of the Massachusetts Savings Insurance League, and after the endorsement of the plan by the Massachusetts state branch of the American Federation of Labor—the industrial insurance companies announced an increase of benefits to their weekly premium policy holders. The bill was introduced, however, proceeded on its stormy way through a legislature bitterly divided against itself, and on June 26, 1907, became law.

IT took a year to get the machinery of the new institution ready for business. The governor appointed seven trustees, who were to have supervision of the system, and to serve without pay. These trustees appointed a state actuary and a state medical director, both subject to confirmation by the governor and council. Then the state actuary, with the advice of the insurance commissioner and the attorney general, prepared the annuity contracts, policy forms, premium rates and surrender values. It was not until June, 1908, that the first policy was issued by a Massachusetts savings bank. The maximum amount of life insurance which a bank could issue on any one life was $500, and the maximum annuity $200.

Here was the opportunity which had been eagerly awaited by the employers of labor who had advocated the passage of the measure. They placed "instructors" in their factories to tell the workers about the benefits offered by the plan. The employers also permitted payment of premiums to be made by automatic deduction from the pay envelope, and allowed medical examination for the insurance to be made at the plant during working hours.

Of course progress at first was slow. There was no adequate provision—nor has there been at any time—for making known the existence of the institution and the opportunities it offered. Doubtless also there was opposition; it was still possible then to refer to the plan as an "experiment," and to predict that it could not succeed. It was regarded as a notable achievement by the savings banks, therefore, that the premium income during the first year amounted to $25,000, and that the end of the first year of practical operation showed a million dollars business on the books of the insurance departments of the two savings banks which had had the courage to enter upon the experiment.

A million dollars of insurance was only a drop in the bucket as compared with the enormous volume of business written by the commercial companies. It nevertheless appears not to have been without effect, for on July 1, 1909, the weekly premium life insurance companies announced another increase in benefits to their weekly premium policyholders.

The premium income during the second year was $58,000. Two dividend days had come and gone, and on each occasion every savings bank policyholder had received a check representing his share of the net profits for the year. Here was unmistakable evidence that this was "mutual" insurance for the wage-worker at last. Even a person of very limited education could understand this sort of thing. The word was passed along to friends, both inside and outside of the factory; on the street; and in the home; and inquiries came to the banks from persons who were in no way indentified with the factories or as depositors in the savings banks. Thus "over-the-counter" business began to assume real proportions. And those who had begun by applying for $250 insurance on the monthly premium plan now wanted $500 insurance on the quarterly premium plan. Then from foremen, superintendents, factory managers, and others, came a demand for policies in $1,000 units. So in 1915 the law was amended in order to permit each bank to write insurance policies in amounts not exceeding $1,000 on any one life. By this time four savings banks had established insurance departments, making it possible for a person to apply for a maximum of $4,000 insurance under this plan. From time to time other banks have established insurance departments, so that on December 31, 1925, there were ten banks acting as insurance carriers, and it is possible to obtain a maximum of $10,000 insurance in the savings banks.

In the meantime, on January 1, 1918, the weekly premium insurance companies made another slight increase in benefits to their weekly premium policyholders. This brought the total increase in benefits to about 20 per cent over those prevailing prior to the establishment of savings bank life insurance; the policy contracts have also been liberalized in many ways in favor of the policyholders.

On December 31, 1925, the amount of business in force in savings bank life insurance was $39,358,541, representing 52,215 policies. The premiums received from policyholders during the year 1925 amounted to $1,189,630, of which $81,420 was on account of annuity contracts. During the seventeen and a half years which have elapsed since the first policy was written, $6,215,881 have been received from policyholders as premiums. The insurance departments of the banks have earned on investments $970,000; death claims have been paid aggregating $953,342.43; cash surrender values amounting to $342,291 have been paid to policyholders, and dividends aggregating $1,353,459 have been paid to policyholders, in addition to which there has been apportioned to be paid to policyholders as dividends during the year 1926 the sum of $374,229. The funds now held in reserve and surplus for the benefit of policyholders amount to $3,765,702.69.

TO the unbiased mind, it was obvious from the start that the Massachusetts savings banks, having behind them a hundred years of experience in the economical management and care of the savings of the people, would be able to do the business at less cost than the commercial life insurance companies. Only time, however, could demonstrate how much lower that cost would be. After only seventeen years' experience, it is now apparent that the net cost of savings bank life insurance is, on the average, 20 per cent less than that in the commercial companies writing "ordinary" insurance, and about 50 per cent less than the present reduced cost of weekly premium insurance.

A $250 straight life policy payable quarterly is issued at a cost that brings the insurance within the means of even the most slender purse; for example, at age 25 the savings bank offers $250 insurance for a quarterly premium of $1.18. At the end of the first year the policyholder receives under present apportionment a dividend of $1.68. Thus his insurance has cost only $3.04 net for the year, which is only six

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cents a week or one cent a day for each working day in the year, and the cost grows less with each policy year.

It seems not unreasonable to suppose that savings bank insurance has resulted indirectly in the writing of more life insurance by many of the old line companies by reason of its general educational work, which has built up in the community a more intelligent appreciation of the fundamental importance of life insurance and protection against sickness and old age. Some of the broad-visioned men who had been in the life insurance business many years were quick to sense this, and have welcomed the new system as an effective social instrument. Others, however, have continued to regard it merely as an unwelcome competitor. They call attention to the fact that the insurance companies pay into the treasury of the Commonwealth two million dollars a year in the form of taxes, and they argue that the taxpayers' money should not be used for the support of a competing system. They omit, however, to call attention to the fact that the savings banks of Massachusetts also pay taxes to the state amounting to more than two million dollars a year, and that the total expenditure by the state for the administrative and supervisory control and for the encouragement and advancement of savings bank life insurance is only about $32,500 a year. Even this small amount is lessened by the fact that the savings bank life insurance system pays taxes to the Commonwealth, which now amount to about $3,700 a year, so that the net amount expended by the state annually on behalf of the system is only about $28,000—about 5 per cent of the amount expended for "Lunches for employes" in a single year by one life insurance company.

A NOTICEABLE shift has taken place in the statements made by those opposed to the growth of this Massachusetts institution.

At first they said: "People will not apply for insurance without persistent solicitation." The savings banks proceeded to answer this assertion by showing that the people would and did apply for insurance voluntarily, and that the number steadily increased.

Then the opponents said emphatically: "Your policyholders will not stick without constant following up, and you will lose in one year what you gained the year before." Forthwith the savings banks proceeded to prove that the policyholders not only "stuck" to what they had originally applied for, but that hundreds of them promptly applied for more insurance as soon as they were given an opportunity to do so. The banks have shown that it is possible to have a lapse ratio of less than 4 per cent of the policies written. They have also demonstrated that persons who apply for insurance because they really want it will not cancel their insurance merely because they leave the state. Abundant proof of this is found in the fact that the insurance departments of the savings banks are today receiving premiums from nearly every state in the United States and from nearly every country in the known world, from policyholders who have removed from Massachusetts since their policies were issued.

But those who still opposed said: "Since your operations are confined to Massachusetts, your mortality is bound to be excessive if an epidemic should come." Thereupon, as if in answer to the challenge, an epidemic did come, and reaped a tragic toll of lives during 1918, 1919, and intermittently during 1920 and 1921. The official records for the four years show that savings bank life insurance had a mortality experience of only 53.78 per cent of the expected, whereas the mortality experience of the commercial life insurance companies averaged 70.48 per cent. In other words, the ratio of deaths in the commercial life insurance companies during the epidemic years was 31 per cent *greater* than in savings bank life insurance!

Then the critics said: "But you have an unfair advantage over us in the matter of expense. In order to make a fair comparison, you should add to the expenses borne by the insurance departments of the savings banks that part of the overhead expense borne by the state." The savings banks reply to that by showing that if the $32,470.51 expended by the state in 1925 were added to the $63,334 expenses borne by the insurance departments of the savings banks, the entire expense cost of doing the business would still be only 8.34 per cent of premium income, as compared with 20.43 per cent in the companies on "ordinary" business, and 30.99 per cent on the weekly premium business. This saving in expenses is entirely apart from and in addition to the saving of seven million dollars annually to Massachusetts people by reason of the increased benefits conceded by the weekly premium companies subsequent to the agitation for and the establishment of savings bank life insurance.

An article on this subject is not complete without some reference to an important by-product of the savings bank insurance system, namely, the organization of voluntary mutual benefit associations in industrial plants throughout the state. This work was assigned to the Division of Savings Bank Life Insurance as the result of an investigation and report made by the Special Commission on Social Insurance appointed by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1917. Each mutual benefit association provides for the payment of weekly sickness benefits out of the funds of its own treasury, to which the employer makes a contribution, and the premium for group life insurance is paid either from the treasury of the association or by the employer.

The weekly sickness benefit varies from $5 to $15. The life insurance on the individual varies in amount from $100 to $3,000. Although the work has been handicapped by lack of adequate funds, nevertheless there have been organized under the auspices of the Savings Bank Insurance Division more than 16,000 workers in sixty-five industrial plants in Massachusetts, and the group life insurance written represents in the aggregate about ten million dollars of insurance.

The mutual savings banks in Massachusetts now number 196, about half of which are already indentified with the savings bank life insurance system, ten of them as insurance carriers, and the balance as receiving stations for the receipt of applications and the transmission of premiums.

The net gain in business during 1925 was $6,473,206, representing applications from one hundred and sixty-six cities and towns in Massachusetts. Thus is encouragement furnished to the friends and supporters of savings bank life insurance and to its 52,000 policyholders, who join in the wish expressed by Governor Coolidge that the time will come when "the knowledge of savings banks life insurance shall have penetrated into every nook and corner of our Commonwealth."

ALICE H. GRADY

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Unemployment Insurance in England

A clear and detailed analysis of Great Britain's much debated experience with compulsory unemployment insurance was presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation by Leo Wolman of the New School for Social Research who recently spent some months in England. Mr. Wolman's paper, which will be published in full in the American Labor Legislation Review, is summarized here.

CERTAINLY not many great adventures in social legislation have so laid themselves open to public scrutiny as Great Britain's compulsory unemployment insurance. Every breath of suspicion or whisper of criticism has created either a special committee of inquiry or an investigation by an established civil service. Facts—financial, industrial, demographic, and political—have issued, almost without interruption, from His Majesty's Stationary Office. If what the social scientist requires for sound interpretation is a clean, objective record of experience it is in this case at his disposal.

English unemployment since the armistice is the result of trade depression and dislocation. In so far as the situation in England appears uncommon it is partly because its statistical record is more complete and more illuminating than that for countries with which comparisons are generally made.

Military and industrial demobilization brought the first shock of unemployment at the close of 1918, and unemployment in February, 1919, rose to nearly 11 per cent. The post war revival struck England as it did the United States, and once more unemployment fell to roughly 2 per cent in the middle months of 1920. The great collapse came at the close of the same year. Unemployment steadily mounted until it reached in the middle of 1921 a level of roughly 20 per cent. Throughout the first nine months of 1925 unemployment has moved gently about a level of 11 per cent.

The contrast between the present state of affairs in England and the United States lies more particularly in the capacity of those who work to absorb and support those who don't. When the English coal mining industry develops an unemployment rate of 15 per cent, the unemployment charge falls inevitably on the industry or on the community or on both. In this country it should be easy, I judge, to discover unemployment in our soft coal industry of at least 15 per cent a year. The fact that this condition endures year after year would seem to indicate either the use of unsuspected reserves or habituation to lower standards of living than are usually accorded the American workingman.

It was to meet this condition of lack of reserves and a persistent unemployment problem that the English government first organized its system of national employment exchanges in 1909 and of compulsory unemployment insurance in July, 1912. From the beginning to the close of 1925 the total cost of unemployment insurance has come to roughly £250,000,000. Contrary to prevailing belief the whole burden of these expenditures has not fallen on the English taxpayer. In fact the contribution of the government to the unemployment fund has averaged 25 per cent of the total income of the fund, while the remaining 75 per cent was contributed by employers and employed.

The history of English unemployment insurance falls naturally into three distinct phases. In the third and present phase unemployment insurance covers practically the whole industrial wage earning population of England. Of the £232,000,000 paid in benefits during the entire thirteen years only £3,000,000 were so expended in the eight years from 1912 to 1920, whereas the remaining £229,000,000 have been spent since 1920.

The administrative problems involved in the conduct of an insurance scheme of such vast proportions must of necessity be many and not easy to solve. Records must be kept of the contributions, benefits and state of employment of twelve million persons. Nor is this all simply a matter of bookkeeping. The administration attempts to find suitable employment for the unemployed; it scrutinizes claims to benefits; it advises with the local committees in passing on claims for extended or uncovenanted benefit.

The present ratio of administrative expenses to revenue is below 10 per cent. The crucial test of this type of administrative experience, however, is not so much a question of cost as it is of success in controlling the volume of benefits, in avoiding and detecting fraud; in short, in protecting the unemployment fund against excessive expenditure. Weighing the achievments of administration on these terms would require ascertaining in general the economic effects of the unemployment insurance system and, in particular, discovering "whether the system diminishes the incentive to find work; whether it affects the willingness of the worker to change his occupation or to move from place to place; whether it affects the desire of those in employment to retain their jobs and thus increases or lessens the efficiency of labor; whether it affects the rate of wages for which the worker is willing to work; and whether it affects the readiness of men to undertake temporary or intermittent jobs by which earnings might be supplemented." [Report on National Unemployment Insurance to July, 1923.] . . . The observations of recent investigators, English economists, along these lines are so illuminating that characteristic samples of them are here reproduced [Unemployment Insurance in Great Britain: A Critical Examination]:

> Only in engineering is the outlook dark enough to stimulate mobility and here large numbers are leaving the town, the trade and the country.
>
> There have been several storms between the manager of the Labor Exchange and trade union officials on the subject of mobility. The manager, doing his duty, continually presses unemployed people to accept work in other places and frequently benefit is lost on account of refusal. . . .
>
> The unemployed criticize the administration on the score of its searching character. Some of the questions are regarded as an intrusion on their privacy. . . . An applicant for an allowance in respect of a wife must produce his marriage certificate, and a man separated from his wife and claiming for his housekeeper must prove that he has not seen his wife for seven years.
>
> Local cases may be cited where men are at work for less than the "dole." There are, for instance, about fifty or sixty temporary watchmen employed on local road and street repairs at a very meagre rate. . . . They would be slightly better off on the dole, but they prefer to continue at work as long as possible and to accumulate stamps against the contingency of unemployment.
>
> Much evidence has come to hand . . . which shows that skilled engineers are seeking employment in a great variety of jobs . . .

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frequently the change really means the degradation of the skilled craftsman. . . . Other evidence shows that the fear of unemployment has led to the suspension of many trade union regulations and has persuaded the workers in the words of one informant "to accept humiliations which they would never have dreamt of in normal times."

On the matter of deliberate fraud these observers make the trenchant comment that "the person who succeeds in obtaining benefit without a proper right to it must be not only a malingerer but also an artistic liar." I myself have witnessed cross examinations by Rota Committees and I agree that only the most accomplished and brazen liars could evade discovery.

Concrete confirmation of the care with which claims for benefit are handled is indicated in the sample record of claims for extended benefit definitely recommended for disallowance. (Extended benefits, as contrasted with standard benefits, are the benefits of those who by reason of the exhaustion of their contributions have lost any claim on the fund.) In the seven weeks from August 25 to October 12, 1925, for example, these local employment and "Rota" committees definitely recommended for disallowance 86,374 such claims —6,000 because the applicants were not seeking to obtain a livelihood by insurable employment; 3,300 for whom insurable employment was not likely to be available; 29,000 who had not had a reasonable period of insurable employment during the two preceding years; 17,500 because they were not making every reasonable effort to obtain suitable employment or were unwilling to accept suitable employment; 18,000 single persons residing with relatives; 6,700 married women who could look for support from their husbands; 5,800 working short time but earning sufficient for maintenance; and, finally, 372 married men who could look for support from their wives.

So far the record of English unemployment insurance is a tribute to the efficiency and public spirit of the civil servants and laymen actively concerned in its administration. Private citizens of all classes acting on Local Employment Committees, Courts of Appeal, Courts of Reference and on the Rota committees contribute an indispensable service. Successful administration of the scheme would be impossible without them.

HOW far the operation of a scheme of compulsory unemployment insurance which covers nearly the whole of the industrial population of a country tends to impede the action of those underlying economic forces is a question that cannot receive a categorical answer. This much, however, is certain. Uncontrolled deflation is not the swift and effective machinery of readjustment which it is, in some circles, commonly credited to be. Post-Napoleonic England, untroubled by either a large organized labor movement or a comprehensive system of public insurance, suffered long and violently from the effects of deflation. With one-third its present population, one in every twelve were dependent on the Poor Law rates. Poor law expenditures ran for many years at nearly £7,000,000 a year.

Clearly now as then a modern civilized community cannot afford to witness the disaster of widespread and persistent unemployment without undertaking prompt and effective measures of relief and prevention. The alternatives before the successive governments of England since 1918 were either the extension of the systems of Poor Law relief or the development of their plan of compulsory insurance. The first would have meant reckless and uncontrolled spending of vast sums by local and central public authorities; while the insurance scheme has assured an orderly and systematic payment of benefits from funds largely contributed by its beneficiaries.

LEO WOLMAN

MILL OWNERS of Massachusetts have presented a bill to the state senate establishing a 54-hour week for women in industry The present law provides a 48-hour week. The mill owners have repeatedly issued publicity threatening to move their mills to the South unless the nine hour day is reestablished. Under the new bill, children (under 21) would be permitted to work nine hours a day and forty-eight hours a week in mills, telegraph offices, telephone exchanges, railroads and express companies. The bill is being vigorously opposed by organized labor, social workers, club women and other progressive and philanthropic groups.

A LABOR PARTY has been launched in Japan with the consent of the government. The new party's platform includes demands for abolition of laws suppressing free speech and press, universal suffrage for all over 18 years of age, abolition of the House of Peers, radical reduction of armaments and curtailment of all militaristic activities. The government has issued a warning that any attempt to model the party on the lines of Russian sovietism will bring about restrictions, and that if the new party advocates such principles as nationalization of the land, pay for army conscripts, etc., it will be suppressed.

EXPERIMENTS in the manufacture of print paper from eucalyptus wood at the Forest Products Laboratory of the University of Wisconsin were successfully tested recently when a roll of the paper was run through a printing press. The test showed that the paper absorbed the ink well enough to produce good printing, and that it was strong enough to be run through a highspeed press. The eucalyptus wood used was grown in the state of Lao Paulo, Brazil, and it is believed the paper can be produced in Brazil at half the cost of imported paper. The same species of eucalyptus used in the Wisconsin tests can be grown in California, New Mexico and Florida, where the tree reaches pulpwood size in less than ten years. This attempt to devise a satisfactory substitute for the present paper supply is only one of many that are being carried forward by various agencies in view of the depletion of spruce wood forests in the northern United States, and also because of the international ramifications of the so-called "paper trust."

ACCORDING to the American Federation of Labor News Service, David Clark, spokesman for the textile manufacturers of the South and outspoken opponent of any proposal intended to improve working conditions, threatens the University of North Carolina with a curtailment of its legislative appropriations if the University insists on investigating conditions in the state's textile mills. Mr. Clark, who is editor of the Southern Textile Bulletin, is reported to have been speaking "unofficially," but to have stated that the manufacturers "can and may bring pressure" to bear on the legislature to cut the university appropriation unless that institution confines itself to academic courses of study and leaves industrial questions alone. This attitude is in line with the action of the mill owners' convention in Pinehurst, N. C., which rejected the request of university officials that they be allowed entrance to the mills to make a study of the economic and social conditions of the North Carolina textile industry.

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New York: Reaching for a Solution

This is the second of two articles (the first was published on January 15) in which the director of plans and surveys for the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs sketches the task on which he is engaged and indicates the method of attack upon it. Here he defines regional planning as the New York Committee conceives it and outlines its progress.

IN mere size, wealth and power, New York has become the greatest of cities. The special dangers that lurk in its growth are those that come from immensity and success. In general these dangers do not differ from those that threaten the strength and vigor of all modern cities. London has no skyscrapers and yet has the same evils in the form of slums and traffic congestion. Nor do the evils of congested growth in Manhattan in 1926 differ greatly in their nature from those that afflicted the island in 1810 when its population was only 93,914 and its first city plan was made. It has been suggested that what is wrong with New York is that it is too big. But is mere bigness in itself an evil? The cities of Yonkers and White Plains, and even the village of Croton, in Westchester, have unwholesome and crowded tenements and congested traffic conditions. The difference is only in scale. It is true that the greater scale makes the evils more impressive and more injurious to the citizens, for as Karel Capek has said, speaking of London, it is the "unredeemable extent" of the blighted slum areas that makes them so grievous and depressing. But wrong methods of growth produce equally bad effects in the rural district as well as in the urban area—in the village as well as in the great city. Poverty and isolation in remote agricultural districts have as bad social consequences as poverty and overcrowding in the city. What is wrong with urban regions like New York is not that they are growing too large, but that they are growing in the wrong way for the purpose of expressing social order and human well-being.

As I said in my last article, the problem of New York has to be considered from two broad aspects—first, that of the built areas, and, second, that of the unbuilt areas. In the first we have to apply remedial methods, namely, replanning, reconstruction and reclamation; in the second, preventive methods, namely, planning, construction and conservation. The Regional Plan must deal with both aspects. The one affects all Manhattan, Brooklyn and Bronx, the greater part of Queens, and the principal New Jersey cities around Hackensack Meadows, and the scattered cities and villages in the environs; and the other affects the areas that are subdivided into building lots but not yet developed, and the great extent of acreage which has not yet been made to suffer from the operations of the real estate speculator.

Our concern being primarily with the content and only secondarily with the extent of urban growth, what are the underlying causes of those conditions that make the modern city so much of a failure in meeting the demands of social well-being and business efficiency? How will the New York Regional Plan assist in showing how to correct the defects that are becoming intolerable: which defects, being artificially created, are capable of being corrected by art and science?

If we penetrate deep enough into the causes of the most and the worst of the evils that afflict urban communities we will find that they are rooted in the false economic standards that have been applied to the development of land.

Does the evil consist of overcrowded housing conditions with consequent darkness of rooms and inadequacy of air space? Obviously the cause is that in the interest of money-making the owners of certain lands have been permitted to crowd too many rooms on the block or acre. What one group of owners gains another group loses, because the average density and level of values remain approximately the same, whether the urban growth is congested in one part and thinly scattered in another part, or whether it spreads out evenly in all its parts. Thus, although some owners of property gain from overcrowding, owners as a whole over wide areas do not gain, and the community always loses. This is true notwithstanding that a certain amount of con-

From an etching by Lionel Reiss

THE TOWERED CITY

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centration, within the limits that will not be injurious to health, may be financially sound.

Are we confronted with the problem of congested traffic in the streets? The obvious cause is either lack of adequate provision of land to meet the public needs for purposes of communication, or excessive building heights and densities in proportion to the land available for these purposes. The owners of property who enjoy the financial benefits of this crowded condition for a time ultimately have to lose; for the congestion of streets, and the forms of relief consisting of one-way streets, prohibition of parking, or obstruction of free movement, may cause greater loss to owners of property than that which they would have had to sustain by dedicating more space to the street area or by enduring a greater amount of restriction on the heights and densities of the buildings they have erected.

Do we suffer from inadequate space for parks and playgrounds? The cause is not want of land, but want of planning and conservation of open areas in adequate proportion to building densities in advance of building development.

Do we complain of high buildings? If so, it is not because of any evils due to height *per se,* but to the lack of scale between the high buildings and the open areas surrounding them. For this reason the greatest danger that threatens the economic soundness of the skyscraper is the lack of unbuilt space needed to give it light and an open prospect, and adequate facilities for movement of traffic.

The Fundamental Adjustment

If it be true that, in these and other problems of the modern city, what is needed is a better balance between built space and open space—then it should be a main object of the regional plan to obtain this balance. But in the face of the vested interests that have grown up on the basis of laws that have permitted existing conditions of congestion, and of habits and mental attitudes that have been engendered by these conditions, how is any change to be secured? And even if there was a popular understanding of the problem and a desire for change, how is such a simple and unofficial act as the making of a regional plan going to promote any desirable change?

Before we can consider the answer to these questions we have first to answer the question—What is a regional plan? When we have found this answer we shall see that it does not provide a cure, but only the means of obtaining a cure. It is a means, however, that is essential as a basis to the ultimate solution of the whole problem of unbalanced growth in urban areas.

The Contents of the Regional Plan

The regional plan does not differ from the city plan in its general objects. In both cases the objects are to promote health, order, safety, convenience and public welfare —in connection with the development or re-development of land. There is little distinction between the two kinds of plan in method or technique. Both are concerned with those physical elements in the city or region which have to do with the use to which land is put for industry, business, residence, or recreation, and with problems of movement or means of communication, which serve these uses. The technical distinction arises from the necessity of making the regional plan more general and less detailed in its contents and more elastic and less definite in its application than the city plan. Edward M. Bassett has stated that the contents of a city plan are limited to those things that can be put on maps and that relate to the legal quality of the land. In the main we have to confine the regional plan to those things that can be put on the map that forms the graphic illustration of the plan, but its proposals have no legal status in fixing the quality of any land until adopted as part of a city plan. Indeed, the chief difference between a city and a regional plan is that the former is, or should be, a definite plan, comprising a map and legal provisions, and having the effect of a statute or ordinance to be enforced by the city authority, while the latter is merely a skeleton map showing approximate lines of communication, adaptability of areas of land to different uses instead of definite uses, and accompanied by statements of standards and principles instead of statutory provisions. But the regional plan should precede the city or village plan as a guide to the local authority in dealing with the broad aspects of its local problems and in coordinating proposals affecting its area with those affecting adjacent administrative areas and with the plan of the whole region of which it is a part. This is particularly true where a city or village is a satellite or dormitory community of a large metropolis.

How West Middlesex Did It

An English instance comes to my mind that illustrates the contents and limitations of regional planning better than any American example of which I have knowledge. One of the sectors of Greater London consists of the West Middlesex Region. It comprises seventeen administrative districts. There is no regional government, but merely a joint committee having advisory functions and consisting of representatives of the local authorities. Two years ago it prepared a regional plan showing proposals for all principal highways, open areas, agricultural wedges, and lands adaptable for industry, business and agriculture. Since this regional plan was made, practically the whole of the seventeen authorities have proceeded to make a planning scheme for their respective areas in harmony with the proposals of the regional plan. When the planning scheme is completed it will have the effect of a legislative act and will fix the land quality of the whole region.

One of the provisions in these English schemes fixes building densities in the residential areas by prescribing an average of from eight to twelve houses to the acre. By this means the land quality is determined on a basis that prevents any possible overcrowding or high values of land.

We see in this illustration the significance of city planning in controlling densities. When proper principles of growth are agreed to in regard to the areas of land that should be covered with buildings, the heights of buildings, the amount of street space needed to provide adequate means of communication in relation to permissible heights and densities, the amount of open space required for parks and playgrounds, and other features—then the effect of a plan is to prevent the various forms of congestion on all undeveloped areas in future. On built areas its effect would be to prevent any increase in present density of buildings and congestion of traffic: and possibly to lessen either or both.

Having regard therefore to what has been said as to the fundamental requirements of a plan being to control land development in the interests of public well-being and to the limitations of a regional plan as a basis for a city plan, what are the matters that should be covered by the Plan?

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The Regional Plan of New York is being made on a map showing existing features and contour levels of the land. It is based on a survey of physical social and economic conditions and trends. An Existing Conditions map will show the physical conditions as they are, and boundaries of land features included in official maps—including existing uses of land for industry, business, residence, parks and agriculture. On this map the framework of the plan will be built. It will show proposals regarding

(1) Circulation, distribution and sanitation; and
(2) Utilization of land and buildings.

It will deal with these matters differently for built areas and unbuilt areas.

The Proposals for New York

The following is a summary of some of the major features to be shown on the plan:

I. Proposals Regarding Transportation and Transit

(a) *Waterways and Harbors*
Pier and quay development.
Outline of freight distributing facilities to link up shipping with railways and highways.
Internal waterway system.
Delineation of areas for other port developments including waterfront manufacturing sites.
Water transit.

(b) *Railways*
Position of terminals for passengers and freight.
Belt railways and boulevards.
Internal freight distribution system.
Extension of main railways and rapid transit subway and surface lines.
Extension and (or) elimination of trolley lines.

(c) *Highways, Bridges and Tunnels*
Extensions, widenings, by-passes and diversions of highways.
These should include:—
Circumferential highways.
Improvement of approaches to docks and railroad termini, etc.

(d) *Airplane Landing Places*
Indication of suitable areas.

(e) *Marketing Facilities*
Waterfront improvements in relation to freight handling.
Position of new market places or centers.

(f) *Main Drainage and Sewage Disposal*
Position of lines or sites referred to in the reports to accompany the plan.

Proposals regarding major highways, elevated highways, street widenings, and traffic proposals, will show how they tie together with the transportation system of the region, and afford scope for proper circulation at the focal points as well as between the different populated areas. Suggestions for adoption in more detailed planning, and statements of principles for the guidance of legislative and administrative authorities in making extensions to the highway system and many other matters will be dealt with in the report.

II. Proposals Regarding Future Land Utilization, Building Development, Zoning, Parks and Recreation Features, and Water Supply

(a) *Areas Adaptable for Industry, Business and Residence*
Height and density will be dealt with in the report, as they cannot be shown on the map.

(b) *Sites Adaptable for Satellite Cities and Neighborhood Centers*

(c) *Open Areas*
(1) Parks and playgrounds, or other open areas approved as to situation and boundary which can be definitely located, but are not existing.
(2) Areas adaptable for parks and playgrounds, aviation fields, afforestation or cultivation.
(3) Reservoir and water catchment areas.

(d) *Public Institutions*
Areas adaptable for new or displaced institutions.

These are some of the features that can be placed on the map or plan. A great many proposals will take the form of recommendations in reports, based on economic, social and legal studies. For instance:

Economic—Standards of space requirements of buildings for different situations.
Social—Standards of housing accommodations and space about buildings used for habitation.
Legal—Standards of protective regulations under the police power calculated to receive court sanction, and yet enlarging and perfecting the field of zoning.

While we must endeavor to define policies on these questions we cannot place them on maps.

The Committee have no legislative power to give effect to any of their proposals, and the application of the plan will depend on the merits of what it contains. In the report on the plan there will be set out the standards that are thought to be desirable for application in specified circumstances. Specific detailed projects will be dealt with in separate drawings, and only general outlines included in the plan.

The State of the Project

A great many of the projects included in the above outline have been studied and plans prepared. These are being correlated with projects that have been put forward by public bodies.

The survey of physical, economic and social conditions required as a basis for the plan has been nearly completed. The preparation of the plan and of many ancillary projects is now under way. From two to three years will be necessary to complete the work. It is hoped that the plan and the statements of principles and standards that accompany it will be a guide, for many years, to the constituent authorities within the region in connection with the making of their local plans under state enabling acts. The plan will not really be complete until the City of New York and all other public authorities in the region have prepared plans for their several areas. One of the duties of the Committee is to promote suitable legislation; another is to organize planning commissions in all administrative areas; and a third is to educate public opinion to support their local authorities in executing plans.

When we have completed our task we shall only have laid the foundations on which adequate, effective and comprehensive forms of county, city, and village planning may be developed, within a region that has an area more than three times the size of the state of Rhode Island, and a population greater than that of the Dominion of Canada.

What has been said here as to the contents of a plan might give the impression that we are engaged in a merely technical operation; that we are short-sighted enough to assume that the multiplication of skyscrapers, made more beautiful, and of transit lines, made less disagreeable, will solve the problem of making the city a better place in which

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to dwell and to work. But the reader who has followed me through both articles will not accuse us of being indifferent to the social and economic phases of the problem of urban growth, to the futility of bolstering up conditions that are fundamentally unsound and leading in a wrong direction, or to the importance of removing causes and not merely tinkering with effects. We must bring the art and science of the architect, the engineer and the sociologist to bear upon the problems of the city; we must make our plans on the basis of knowledge of conditions and with due regard to the processes by which action is obtained. But the things we desire most to cultivate, so far as a plan may help to do so, are that "splendor of the spirit" which makes cities great, and those gifts of beauty, order and wholesome living which make them loved.

THOMAS ADAMS

Serving the Garden-Suburbanite

IN these days of specialization a generalized social work job would be almost a novelty if it were found in an American instead of a European city. It becomes especially interesting when its orbit is the new garden suburbs which France has been building, and its task the fitting of their residents into their new surroundings, and stimulating them to the maximum use of their new advantages.

Since Edith Elmer Wood wrote of these garden suburbs (The Survey, Nov. 15, 1924) there has been an interesting development of this sort in the Social Service Department of the Public Housing Office. In the spring of 1924 this office in the Department of the Seine (of which Paris is a part) recognized the fact that the mere building of model homes for workers was an inadequate solution of the housing problem and created a social service department for the garden suburbs. The homes in these suburbs have been reserved for large families who have been living under very crowded urban conditions. It is not surprising, therefore, to find them lacking in good habits of hygiene and possessing standards of living which are far too low. The social service department was created, with M. Martin as its head, to assist the families in developing new standards, and to organize within the suburb all necessary institutions. M. Martin has as his assistants three trained social workers, one of whom, Mlle. Bougle, has had a year in the Boston School of Social Work in addition to her previous experience and training as a nurse.

Each of these workers has the supervision of four suburbs, making twelve garden suburbs and twenty model tenements under the control of this department. The suburbs contain about three thousand families, a small number in comparison with the total needing supervision, but a very large number considered in terms of case load. The workers cannot possibly visit each suburb more frequently than once a week because of the time involved in transportation. When a new suburb is opened a preliminary visit is made to every resident by the social worker, who decides which families are most in need of case treatment. These are visited as frequently as once a month or oftener in case of illness. In the meantime, urgent situations can be reported to the *gardien,* the person in each town who collects the rents and who can summon the social worker in an emergency.

The popularity of these suburbs among the workers is shown in the fact that there are now on the waiting list for apartments or houses 40,000 families. Considering the rents, in Paris in comparison with the earning capacity of the workers, it is not surprising that they are anxious to secure comfortable living quarters even though these involve long commutation. One furnished room now costs from 40 to 60 francs per week while the unskilled worker can earn only 18 or 20 francs per day and the skilled worker, as a maximum, 40 to 50 francs per day. Three unfurnished rooms in Paris may be rented for 150 francs per month or 1,800 francs yearly while in a garden suburb a man can have a four room house or even six rooms for the modest sum of from 800 to 1,500 francs per year, depending not only upon the matter of conveniences but upon the size of his family. For example, a man having only his wife and one child to support might have to pay 1,000 francs yearly rent but when the second child arrived, his rent for the same accomodations would be lowered to 900 francs. Correspondingly, as soon as a child in a suburban family reaches the age of sixteen the rent is raised.

Each suburb has a community improvement association developed by the tenants themselves, and for which the dues are one franc fortnightly. A schedule of duties has been drawn up for this association under the control of the Public Housing Office. Although the plans for all the suburbs call for a public building to be used as a social centre as yet only one has been built, that at Gennevilliers. This attractive hall is leased from the Public Housing Office by the municipality, on which is incumbent the management of the social centre. Concerts, movies and festivities of all sorts are held in the auditorium. On the side of the building there is space for a few shops, one of which is occupied by a cooperative store and another is to be reserved for a clinic for well babies. One room upstairs is to be kept as an office for the social worker where once a week a *permanence d'aide sociale* will be held in order that any tenants who wish may come and ask advice and information. When sufficient funds can be secured so that a worker may devote her entire time to one suburb then this building may become a settlement or neighborhood centre.

Last summer at Stains and Dugny the tenants themselves, through these organizations, paid for three supervisers each for their playgrounds at a cost of 600 francs per month for each superviser.

The local association, however, has already found a place for itself in helping individual families in time of death or unemployment. The social worker herself dispenses no relief but this association may agree to pay a man's rent while she is directing his efforts toward finding a new job. The social worker is able to do real family case work without being considered a source of relief. In addition, of course, she is the community organization worker, visiting teacher, vocational adviser, and health and children's worker as well.

The difficulties under which this development in housing is taking place are in some respects beyond the experiences of American social workers. These workers in the garden suburbs are receiving for this generalized social work six hundred and fifty francs per month, or, at present rates of exchange, less than thirty dollars!

MILDRED D. MUDGETT

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Page decoration by Olla Hjortzberg

LET THERE BE LIGHT

Books in Our Alcove

Edited by Joseph K. Hart

What If We Should Really Be Human Beings!

IT is still not altogether certain that we so-called "bipeds without (for the most part) feathers" should be classed as human beings. It is true that for unnumbered centuries the more naive branches of our *genus* called themselves *homo,* implying, thereby, that we had been given a distinctive—or invidious—status in the universe as the supreme product of creation. But in the Nineteenth Century, some of the invidiousness of the former times was dissolved, and some naturalists even went so far as to suggest that we should, henceforth, be called by the more general title *anthropos,* implying, thereby, that we had found our real relationships—with our cousins, the *anthropoids.* Some hold that the Victorian Age demonstrated what Darwin had merely suggested.

But, when the Great War came on, the world was reassured: we began to act, once more, like real human beings. So popular opinion triumphed, and now the scientists have begun to make concessions. Some of them now admit that, even if we are not actual human beings, we often act as if we were, which, according to certain modern types of psychology, amounts to the same thing; so that eventually we shall really be human beings. A good many books dealing with various phases of the subject are coming to the reviewer's desk. We shall take note of an assortment of four of them.

Mr. Dorsey, in the first of the lot, has mustered much evidence to prove that we do often act like human beings. On this phase of his subject, his book is convincing. But when he turns to the other side and tries to show *why* we act like human beings, he limps a good deal. His psychology could be much improved. Some of it is almost as naive as was much of that old-time popular psychology which used to explain why dogs are "so human."

Granting for the sake of the argument that, at least, we act like human beings, what under the sun is to be done about it? We certainly can't have an enormous rabble of human beings running around loose on the earth, making free of the place just as if they owned it. They've got to be controlled—that's all there is to it! At least some of them must be controlled: some of them haven't got as much brains as the law allows, and most of them haven't got any more. This makes it very hard for the few who have brains to get anything done: some imbecile is always getting in the way and asking questions! It's time something was done about it.

President Cutten, who is willing to admit that the human being sometimes acts curiously like a monkey, feels sure that the race is in danger—if people in general are allowed to run loose and do as they please much longer. The difficulty is this: The brains of America are lodged in an "original American stock"—which, with "amazing folly," is allowing itself to die out, and to be replaced by an immigrant stock which has "a distinctly lower mental quality," and from which we are "getting our large families and our future population and thereby lowering our general level of intelligence." President Cutten thinks the "original Americans" ought to do something about it. But their great intelligence stands in the way: they are too intelligent to have children. The men in President Cutten's own faculty, at Colgate, "average eight-elevenths of a son and their wives average three-fifths of a daughter." What's to become of *mind* if this sort of thing keeps on?

Perhaps, if Colgate would raise the salaries of its faculty, something would happen to the other three-elevenths of that son, and to the remaining two-fifths of that daughter!

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But, let us turn what mind we have left from such twilight prospects to something more likely. Professor Overstreet, accepting the human being for what he, more or less, appears to be, undertakes to suggest some of the elements of a technic by means of which human behavior may be influenced and directed to desired ends. His presentation covers two levels: first, the introductory factors, such as capturing the attention, discovering the wants, making things vivid, arousing without over-stimulating interest, and getting ideas securely lodged in the mind; second, the fundamental factors, such as producing actual changes in persons, building new habits, stirring the controlling deeps of the unconscious, making the path of thinking straight, rousing the mind to its creative level, and releasing the humor which makes adjustment to this almost human world almost possible. Here is an enormously practical and profitable range of investigation for all who have to do with (alleged) human beings. If teachers and social workers and other practitioners in behavior could cut loose from their fears and take a few good turns in this intellectual material, and get their minds braved to the task of independence, more of us might, in time, come to be human beings, and then we should be able to give up having to be content with merely acting like human beings.

We might even, under those circumstances, go on to the fulfillment of Professor Eldridge's suggestion—The Organization of Life. This possibility is still rather remote. Professor Eldridge expects a good deal of a genus that is not yet altogether sure that it is alive, or that it is human. He marks out a rather rough and thorny intellectual road for us, too. Let no one jump to the conclusion that when he uses the word "organization" he means the same thing as some others mean by the word "control." "Control" as it is generally used today connotes some sort of political or economic ordering by which the morons who infest the land will be made to give strict accounts of themselves—while our intellectuals are engaged in the enormously important task of organizing themselves into an "American aristocracy," our greatest present need.

But "organization," as here used, means that inner ordering by means of which a man comes to an understanding with himself as to what the world is and means to him—in all its external and internal bearings and relationships. Professor Eldridge carries through what we may call a sample line of argumentation—ranging through all the fields of science and philosophy, and making terms with all the important questions that confront the intelligent human being. Such a breaking of pathways calls for innumerable turnings—now to the right, now to the left. Probably no other person in America, or the world, would take just the same turnings at every cross-roads. That is neither here nor there: the intellectual task of every completely human individual is here dramatized. It is of the essence of the human contract that any man who wants to claim intellectual organization shall make, for himself, some such reconnoitre into the terrains of the spirit as is portrayed in this book. J. K. H.

WHY WE BEHAVE LIKE HUMAN BEINGS, *by George H. Dorsey. Harper and Brothers. 512 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*
MIND, ITS ORIGIN AND GOAL, *by George B. Cutten. Yale University Press. 212 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*
INFLUENCING HUMAN BEHAVIOR, *by Harry A. Overstreet. People's Institute Pub. Co. 296 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
THE ORGANIZATION OF LIFE, *by Seba Eldridge. Thomas Y. Crowell, 470 pp. Price $4.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

Community Organization—Without the Community

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, *by Jesse F. Steiner. The Century Co. 395 pp. Price $2.25 postpaid of The Survey.*

GREAT Bodies Move Slowly says a well-known proverb which is sometimes true. Not always. For instance, during war time, the people of the United States awoke, with something of horror, to the fact that community disorganization was the rule within our supposedly corporate life. Our body politic shuddered from Boston to Los Angeles, gave a number of vicious reflex kicks and plunges, and got on the job. "We must organize," said our leaders. "Organize," echoed the valleys and the mountains, east, west, north and south. By 1920 we were in full swing. We were organizing everything, everywhere—not with any particular intelligence, but like a hostler who makes a great rattling of doors and hinges and locks after the horse has been stolen. We organized some people out, and others in: but—we organized.

Five years have passed: now, what? Well, organization has lost its popular momentum. "Community organization" has become an academic phrase. Popularly, we got all the "organization" we could stand. We have seen what our communities would become if they were organized according to certain patterns and then manipulated by machinists addicted to that sort of pattern. The sight has not been alluring. Decentralizing forces are more in evidence today than they were five years ago.

This does not mean that nothing of the former movement remains. On the contrary, most of what was healthy remains. To be sure most of "the community" has escaped: we seem not to be intelligent enough or courageous enough to deal with the ultimate problem. In its place we are concerned with organizing social work, social centers, social forces, playground activities, health work, relief work—and the like. We are content to let the great ground swells of national emotion and unconscious action alone for the present: the giant is going back to sleep—as all good giants should.

Professor Steiner's book has caught the community organization movement in this return systole. He gives us the things that are left from that tremendous expansion of a few years ago. What is left is less fundamental than we once hoped for; but it is more sane, more healthful, and, perhaps, more permanent. "The community" just is: that's about as much as we can say for it now. "Organizing" it can destroy its life: not much else. In the meantime, there are a number of important things that can be done—as enumerated above. For the study of those things this book affords rich materials, plentiful references and adequate guidance.

But, incidentally, the book shows the terrible deflation that has taken place in our emotions and hopes in the last five years. Those emotions and hopes were, doubtless, impossible of realization; but for a little while we lived by means of them. Not much of that is left. Community organization is becoming assimilated to other phases of social work. It is no longer the gospel of freedom. It is the technic of specific activities. J. K. H.

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Experience and Nature

A Running Commentary on John Dewey's Masterpiece

IV. What Are Mind and Matter?

WHAT is the Constitution of the United States? Some say: "A document written in 1787, to which nineteen amendments have since been added." That answer is mythical and metaphysical. The real constitution is certain basic social relationships in our national life, as interpreted by the Supreme Court. The Fourteenth Amendment means what the Supreme Court decides. The Fifteenth means nothing. The First very little. The Eighteenth may go the same way. *Reality* is not in *things: reality is in the actual run of events in experience.*

Matter and Mind are two aspects of this order of events in experience: matter expresses the sequence of events; mind expresses their logical connections and dependencies.

Matter is not an event, or an existence: it is a property of a particular level of events. Nothing "material" endures, not even the atom. Scientists now say that the atom is but a temporary equilibrium in the midst of nature's forces. Matter is not the "cause" of mind; at most it is no more than a condition of mind. Matter is instrumental in experience: it is a character by means of which events can be determined and, perhaps, controlled.

Mind is, first, a great system of meanings—the "folkways"—within which the workings of life are embodied. Meaning is as much a part of an event as is sequence. Mind is just as real as matter. Mind is the context of events, the background and foreground of events, a luminosity that surrounds events.

Events have various characteristics. Some are purely "natural": they occur, without choice or control. But most events are ongoing, incomplete, undetermined. Hence, they offer room for determination and control. Moreover, orders of sequence and coexistence are found among events. These orders can be ascertained, and used for purposes of forecast, selection and direction. So mind appears: mind is more than the static meaning of an event; it may also direct events to desired ends. Hence, mind may be defined as the instrumental method of directing changes in nature so as to secure results that are desired. Mind everywhere puts its reconstructive impress upon nature.

But this general mind is limited in its reconstitutive ranges: it falls into grooves of habit and custom. These obstruct when a total situation must be made over: when, for example, the wagon has failed and the steam engine must be invented. Such a situation calls for a more concentrated and a more flexible form of mind. This concentration and flexibility are found in what we may call individual minds.

Individual minds are rare. An individual mind is one that has broken loose from the grooves of the general mind, and that dares to initiate observation and reflection, to form designs, and to undertake experiments on the basis of hypotheses which diverge from accepted doctrines and traditions. In such a mind, the Ptolemaic universe passes, the Copernican takes its place; the world that was made in six days disintegrates, and an evolving universe appears; old social orders dissolve, and the individual stands forth as a candidate for eventual freedom. It is no accident that every great scientific discovery bears the name of a great mind.

Now, in these creative experiences, the "mental" and the "physical" are long undifferentiable. When the physicist in his laboratory sees the atom go to pieces, disclosing new worlds within, he does not know—or care—whether the new elements that appear are "mental" or "physical." He calls one of them an electron, for example. Its nature is hypothetical, and hypotheses begin by being "mental." Later, the electron appears to be a definite item in the structure of the new atom. It is thenceforth reckoned as "physical." There is nothing unusual about such changes from the one to the other, or *vice versa.* Similar changes take place in the reconstructive experiences of all people. After all, the ultimate object of science is neither something mental or physical. It is *the sequence of events* which is subject to direction which science is interested in; and the mental and physical are both but expressive characters of events. So when the erstwhile scientist talks about the "ultimate reality" of matter, or of mind, he is talking not as a scientist but as a metaphysician, and usually as a very amateurish metaphysician, at that.

Why then do we classify "matter" as "dead" but "eternal," whereas "mind" is "living" but "temporal"? Because we are still victims of primitive fear, which distorts our immediate experiences and dominates our critical experiences. The "mental" is more precarious than the "material," but it is no less real. It is probably far more real to most of us—most of the time.

Moreover, we have been brought up to be lazy: we want a "mind" distinct from "matter," framed in Platonic glory—above the earth. It wearies us to face the task of real mind: giving meaning and direction to events; understanding its own nature; choosing its own destiny; working out its own salvation, and by means of the physical, organizing a world that may be enduringly satisfying. Not finding such "minds," we are apt to surrender to our primitive fears.

But "mind" is first general—inclusive of all meanings. It may never be anything else. Also, it may become individualized, escape from the grooves of custom, strike out on its own lines and so give new character to the events of an age. Such a mind, though it may not achieve the glory of a Platonic heaven, does, like Plato, himself, help to redeem life from some of its fears and give it a luminosity and courage that have imperishable quality.

EXPERIENCE AND NATURE, *by John Dewey. Open Court Publishing Co. 443 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

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For Peace on Railroads

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT ON THE RAILROADS. *A study by the Policy Holders' Service Bureau, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Simons Boardman Publishing Co. 227 pp. Price* $3.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

THIS study represents an attempt to diagnose the human problem of the American railroad industry and to appraise personnel management as a method for helping in its solution. The study points out that the most acute aspects thereof grow out of matters relating to wages, and emphasizes the importance of what it calls "constructive employe representation in industry" as the most essential step towards the progressive solution of the problem. The significance of stabilized employment, the provision of suitable working conditions, the recruiting and training of employes, safety, sanitation, ventilation and housing are all stressed as elements of the problem together with relief for injury, illness, and death. Finally, the necessity for more accurately gaging employe morale and augmenting its strength is indicated.

Little if any fault can be found with this diagnosis. Certainly if railroad managements and workers can get together and systematically tackle the solution of these primary aspects of the human problem of their industry considerable progress will be made. It will also follow that the aim of personnel management which the study insists is "to secure employe cooperation" will be progressively realized. While the study does not attempt to shed either light or heat on the thorny problem of wage compensation, and perhaps wisely so, it does deal with the difficult subject of organized relationship between railroad employes and management. In glancing over Chapter VI on Constructive Relations, the student of matters human in the railroad industry or the intelligent railroad manager should easily be able to grasp the difference between "employe representation" made notorious by the propaganda of certain railroad managements, and genuine collective bargaining. Such student or officer after grasping this difference, ought to have no further difficulty in judging the value of collective bargaining as the most suitable foundation upon which to build for sound employe cooperation. The plan of union-management cooperation, originally started at the suggestion of the American Federation of Labor shopcraft unions on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and since introduced on the great Canadian National and other railway systems, is clearly described both in respect to its logical development from collective bargaining and its method of procedure.

The study clearly emphasizes the necessity, despite the many experiments and developments now under way in the railroad industry in respect to savings and insurance, for an intensive investigation of the important subject of relief measures. Facing the facts the conclusion cannot be escaped that, on the whole, attempts on the part of railroad managements to provide these benefits to their employes might in the long run serve to accentuate rather than ameliorate the differences between workers and managements.

The study is a wholesome indication of a growing conscience as far as the obligations of the industry to its millions of workers are concerned. It is the first book of its kind which really attempts to bring home the significance of the human problem of the industry, especially as bearing on the duties of our steam railroads to the public. The fact that the study does both these things in the light of the intense political and economical controversy in which the industry finds itself constitutes perhaps its greatest value.

As a summary of human standards actually in existence not only on some railroads but also in many large industrial undertakings, the study ought to be of service to spokesmen for organized railroad workers and railroad managers, for it cannot be denied that many of the conditions which the study emphasizes as eminently desirable in the interest of railroad workers and the morale of the industry are far from standard on the great majority of our railroads today.

OTTO BEYER
Consulting Engineer, Railway Employes Department, A. F. of L.

Drawn by Mahonri Young

THE TRACK GANG

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The Human Seasons

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF BUSINESS CYCLES, *by Maurice B. Hexter. Houghton Mifflin Co. 206 pp. Price $4.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

THIS Pollak monograph embodies a research into certain social problems which have never been investigated with the same statistical apparatus nor with equal intensiveness before. The author has tilled his field with the statistical tools devised by Professor Warren M. Persons, and has reached results which are instructive and novel even though admittedly tentative. And he has been indefatigable in his research on the thought of earlier writers.

The author has not, like so many demographers, concerned himself with "the static state"—studying and comparing the death rate, for example, between countries or parts of a country, or among racial or economic groups. On the other hand, he has examined the distribution of deaths and other vital phenomena over time, using the monthly interval, a finer unit of time than has been customary in earlier work. This has enabled him to examine with much greater accuracy both the seasonal and the cyclical fluctuations of several social problems: marriages, births, deaths, still-births, and divorces in or near Boston. He has also given passing attention to the long-time or "secular" movements in these variables, and, as another by-product, the disturbances set up by the war and its psychological aftermath.

Strong seasonal tendencies are noted and measured in the case not only of marriages but also of births, deaths, and divorces, less clearly in the case of still-births.

Yet some tentative conclusions are advanced as to the time sequences among the seasonal movements—which are found to be quite different from the sequences among cyclical movements, as might be expected. If the time relation for maximum correlation may be regarded as fully significant, the birth rate tends to move up and down nine months after marriages, and to fluctuate concurrently with employment. Curiously enough, the death rate seems to rise in advance of a fall in the birth rate by nine months; in other words deaths fluctuate inversely as conceptions in their seasonal variation. Divorces appear to lag five months after employment, and four months after marriages.

The author has gone a step further and correlated certain of these variables with each of the others, as to seasonality. As Mr. Hexter clearly realizes, the results are neither dependable statistically—owing, for example, to the small size of most of the coefficients and the small number (12 pairs) of items used as a basis for the correlations—nor unequivocal as to the interpretation of causal interrelationships or common susceptibility to other causes.

Conclusions as to cyclical interrelationships are in some respects even more tentative. The extreme disturbancy of most of the series forced Mr. Hexter to use that rather unsatisfactory device, the twelve-month moving average, necessarily obscuring in a measure the response of his variables to the business cycle.

During the business boom of 1906-7, marriages, and presently births, increased, according to Dr. Hexter's summary graphs of the monthly statistics (page 116). The death cycle was high in 1905 and 1907. Marriages were again numerous in 1913, 1914, and 1917, but fell off in 1910 and, owing to the war, in 1918. Births varied little from 1912 until 1919 when the 1918 check in marriages showed its influence. It is Mr. Hexter's belief that "the birth rate is more delicately adjusted to cyclical fluctuations than is the death rate"; also that "marriage is not so much controlled as is the birth rate, and further that marriage is not as delicately adjusted to variations in business enterprise as is the death rate." Divorces show at times a more consistent relation to business prosperity, tending to rise and fall with the level of prices and business activity, even though the correlation coefficient fails to disclose the fact.

Drawn by Colin Gill in The New Leader, London

OUT OF WORK

Some of the findings announced in this monograph will be found interesting to the sociologist and social worker; a few will even be directly useful. But the greater value of the book is its stimulation not only to further study of these same variables in other localities, for checking the findings, and to test the hypothesis here presented, but also of other social variables as well. Problems of pauperism and poor-relief, prostitution, crime and delinquency, desertion, migration, suicide, are among those which should be subjected to similar quantitative analysis. On this work Mr. Hexter and others have made a beginning elsewhere.

The day will soon come when social administrators will give as much attention to internal and external statistics as many thousands of men are now doing in the management of business enterprises. There is no reason why statistical self-observation, through analysis of *internal* statistics, should not succeed as well in social administration as in the business world. But the social administrator, like the business man, cannot live unto himself alone. Similar observation of *external* economic and social conditions should be equally illuminating in this little explored field.

W. A. BERRIDGE

Brown University

The American Background

NORTH AMERICA, *by J. Russell Smith. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 849 pp. Price $6.00 postpaid of The Survey.*
NORTH AMERICA, *by Ll. Rodwell Jones and P. W. Bryan. Lincoln MacVeagh. Dial Press. 537 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

A PEOPLE that has overcome so many physical obstacles in the path of progress as the American is particularly apt to exaggerate its power over nature. In recent decades the biologists have had hard work to convince us that no amount of social engineering can overcome the disastrous results of bad breeding; and now more and more the economic geographers are trying to convince us that, no matter how ingenious, man can succeed only by utilizing, not by ignoring, the physical and climatic features of his environment.

Of Professor J. Russell Smith's new book it is almost impossible to speak too enthusiastically. The present reviewer

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has read it through from end to end and feels enriched by a knowledge of America which he could have obtained in no other way. J. Russell Smith combines with an acknowledged mastery in his field a wide knowledge of all human concerns, a sympathetic curiosity, the art of quoting aptly and with astonishing suggestiveness, and prophetic vision. Novelists and fellow travellers are among his sources of information; for, he realizes that the utilization of natural resources is not least a matter of human psychology. His description of each region is that of a social and cultural environment as well as of an area of common topographical features. Most unusual of all, each chapter is concluded by a forecast in which—for the first time, so far as we are aware, in a book of this sort—an accurate knowledge of facts and of trends is made the basis for a scientific, if conservative prognosis. Altogether, a remarkable textbook, with courageous excursions also into political and economic theory—absolutely unpretentious in these respects, yet for that very reason appealing as no dry and impersonal textbook could appeal.

It is unfortunate for the two English authors that their book on almost the identical subject appeared at about the same time and is, in many places, being reviewed together with J. Russell Smith's. For, compared with his, their study is colorless and, let us be frank, painfully hard to read. Yet the two Britishers are making a contribution of their own, not only in a section that traces the geographical backgrounds of modern American history, but also by separating out of their regional survey those features that are best considered from the point of view of a more general significance and treating these with corresponding thoroughness. Thus they give a fuller description of cotton, oil and coal in their relation to the American scene than is found in other geographical textbooks. It may be doubted, however, whether this work is simple and stimulating enough, in this country at least, for the purpose the authors have in view, that of a textbook for high-school or college freshmen classes.

B. L.

National Neuroses

THE NEUROSES OF THE NATIONS, *by C. E. Playne. Thomas Seltzer. 468 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

PEOPLE whose behavior during and since the war requires of them that they maintain an emotional attitude toward its cause will not like this book. For, it tells us about the mind of Europe a good deal that conflicts with the prevalent theories of war guilt. Belonging to the general type of Civilization: Its Cause and Its Cure literature, it maintains that the progress of western civilization has been held up and the war of 1914 caused by the failure of men's nervous systems to adjust themselves to the increasing strains of life.

But while the thesis thus deals with men in the plural, the argument deals with nations as individuals, and it is for that reason that it fails to convince. The study of group psychology has not reached a point at which such a hypothesis is permissible. Concretely, symptoms given in the book as belonging to the condition of a nation often are clearly those of a limited group or geographical area within the nation.

The symptoms of the alleged neurosis are clearly set forth, and evidence is heaped upon evidence to indicate their presence in the two countries chosen for detailed study, Germany and France. But, as is natural when you deal with nations as social units, too much is made of political happenings, and other factors are dragged in to fill out the picture. One is reminded of previous efforts to lay the troubles of civilization to a single cause—whether it be the armament ring, the Jew, modern science or alcoholism: the temptation to twist factual statements a little so as to make them fall within the main channel of the argument is not completely resisted.

Yet, with all their faults, such essays are often creative because they suggest more trends of thought than the author himself is willing to pursue. Thus the present book, unconvincing though it is, may sincerely be recommended for its many promising leads and, though this may seem hackneyed, for a really imposing wealth of apposite data.

B. L.

When the State Does Social Work

SYSTEMS OF PUBLIC WELFARE, *by Howard W. Odum and D. W. Willard. University of North Carolina Press. 302 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE University of North Carolina has done a notable service in publishing this very useful compilation of information on the various systems, in different states, under which their public institutions function. This book will be welcomed in many class rooms. Any student of the subject, one of the most important in a scheme of social study, will find here a pretty complete statement of the modern view of public welfare and its boards, as they have developed out of the boards of state charities which preceded them. Particularly useful and interesting are the two chapters devoted respectively to the unique North Carolina plan and the very comprehensive Pennsylvania plan: the former showing what may be done in a state which seems to exercise a rigid financial economy in all its affairs and which recognizes the value of the county as the seat of public welfare efforts; the latter the possibility of organization on a magnificent scale, where the expenditure of money is limited only by the value of the results attained.

The authors have called for help on several co-laborers. Howard Jensen contributes a timely chapter on The County as a Unit for Public Welfare and Social Work, in which he points out the rather strange fact that the county, which is the universal governmental unit all over the country, has been the least regarded as a field for social welfare. The city and the state have engrossed nearly all efforts and the county has been ignored. Yet the county is the last refuge of our democratic government, so rapidly drifting into bureaucracy, with its head, if not its heart, in Washington.

Sophonisba P. Breckenridge adds a chapter on The History and Development of Present State Systems. She deplores the fact that with their change into boards of public welfare, one of the most valuable functions of the original boards of state charities is inevitably lost, namely, that of being the eye of the people of the state, observing the work of their servants. It is not possible for the same agency to be an executive doing work and an inspector and supervisor, observing and reporting on how the work is being done and advising how to do it better. Miss Breckenridge points out that even before the development into

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boards of public welfare, this valuable function had been impaired. No matter how much, in theory, the state boards had been created as agents of inspection, supervision and report, few legislatures understood and fewer really believed in the theory, and in almost every case executive duties soon were foisted upon them. Perhaps this was an indication of an actual leaning towards centralization of government and a loss of faith in democracy. We may as well admit that, however idyllic, government by town meeting is lost for us beyond recall.

The last chapter of the book deals with the subject of a federal department of public welfare. Robert W. Kelso argues that we have already a number of scattered fragments of such a federal department, and that efficiency and economy would be promoted by uniting them under one head. Of course this is a sound contention so far as it goes. The arguments pro and con are well worth study. If such a department could be, and remain, purely advisory, even a thorough going democrat might welcome it. But only a very optimistic, or a very ill-informed, citizen would desire to impose upon our federal government any more executive functions than it now labors under. And the differences in social and economic conditions which exist in our forty-eight states are so profound that anything like a national administration of public welfare is clearly out of the question.

The state of North Carolina is to be congratulated on its recent social progress. Its great university, which is pursuing lines of usefulness to the people of the state beyond most of its kind; its state Board of Charities and Public Welfare with its close connection with the university; and its general educational advance, must together (and they belong together) be a source of profound thankfulness to its enlightened citizens, even more than its progress in cotton spinning or its success in making millionaire tobacco manufacturers.

ALEXANDER JOHNSON

Can the White Man Survive?

THE MENACE OF COLOUR, *by J. W. Gregory. Lippincott Co. 264 pp. Price $4.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

WE are warned that civilization is endangered by the rising tide of color; and the progress of humanity is embarrassed by the rising tide of color prejudice. With the former this book is primarily concerned: the instincts and interests which constitute color prejudice, and over which we might be expected to have a measure of control are not subjected to examination for these do not constitute our danger. We are warned that the menace of our time is the decline in the numbers and prestige of the white race as compared with fecundity, aggressiveness and powers of assimilation of the colored race. The author is professor of geology in the University of Glasgow and his approach to race questions is made largely from the standpoint of geographical and climatic conditions bearing on racial distribution.

All the continents are included. Asiatic immigration into Western America receives a chapter though the author is more deeply interested in Australia where he sees the permanence of the white man menaced in a continent which with Europe and North America would be the chief home of the white race. Here Professor Gregory develops what is perhaps his central hobby as a scientist—the white man's capacity to colonize the tropics. He makes a strong case to prove that "the deleterious effects on the white race once attributed to the tropical climate are not established" (p. 196). The reader may be left to judge whether equal evidence is adduced for the other and very different assertion that "there is nothing in climate to prevent the development of the tropical lands by white labor" (p. 239).

African race-problems are discussed with reference to South Africa where "the maintenance by some measure of segregation of an artificial barrier between the white and colored races seems the only way to prevent the submergence of the white population" (p. 140). From the same angle the Negro problem in North America is discussed with considerable detail. Negro progress receives a hurried and somewhat superficial treatment. The author has visited the States several times and draws therefore on his own experience supplemented by a rich fund of quotations which he presents without discrimination as to their comparative merit and authority. We get a picture of Hampton and Tuskegee as large and wealthy Negro schools but there is no recognition of their distinctive contribution to Negro education and to the South as a whole through a program of leadership aiming at community improvement and interracial harmony. Prophecies of racial conflict are derived from the years 1905-1915 and exaggerated emphasis on the riots of 1919 while there is practically no recognition of the constructive forces at work in the South. Figures are given to show the disparity between the sums expended on whites and Negroes in the public schools of the South, but the significant advances in public expenditures for Negro education in recent years are not noticed and the state which leads the South in this matter is not even mentioned in the tables of comparison.

Race-contacts are considered mainly from the standpoint of the white race and the threat to its strong survival for the author has been convinced that "the mixture of races goes on with increasing momentum." This conclusion might have been modified perhaps by the author if he had possessed more recent census figures and had been brought into contact with the growth of race-pride among the Negroes, and the increasing number of self-contained Negro communities in the cities and rural districts of the South. The treatment suffers from the failure to envisage the main problem as fundamentally a question of education, of individual and community attitudes, knowledge and good-will, but it

What to Read on the World Court

PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, *by Julia E. Johnson. The H. W. Wilson Co. 117 pp. Price $.90 postpaid of The Survey.*

Contains a bibliography to 1923, with briefs for the negative and affirmative, and many reprints of arguments.

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, AND THE QUESTION OF AMERICA'S PARTICIPATION, *by Manley O. Hudson. Harvard University Press. 389 pp. Price $4.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

Contains a collection of documents, and is an argument for America's entrance into the court.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COURT, *by Frances Kellor and Antonia Hatvany. Thomas Seltzer 352 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

A full statement of the organization of the Court, with arguments showing its political basis, and warnings to the United States against lightly accepting the responsibilities of membership.

The World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, has published a series of pamphlets bearing on the question of the World Court.

These pamphlets contain complete bibliographies. The Annual Report of the Permanent Court, covering the period from January 1, 1922 to June 15, 1925, may be secured through the Foundation.

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presents the facts and issues in a form which deserves to command the attention of the many earnest minds now engaged in the study of this crucial task in the great venture of American society. JAMES W. C. DOUGALL

THE RUN OF THE SHELVES

Books are listed here as received. Many of those mentioned by name only in the classified sections below will be reviewed later.

Social Practice

THE REVOLT OF MODERN YOUTH, *by Judge Ben B. Lindsey and Wainwright Evans. Boni and Liveright, New York.* 364 *pp. Price*

JUDGE LINDSEY and his collaborator present this book as a collection of facts and tentative conclusions which should be known to the public, particularly to parents and educators. From Denver, where he has been judge of a juvenile court for twenty-five years and which he regards as a typical American city, he draws these stories of personal contact with modern youth, much as a technician might present data on the experiments that have been performed in his laboratory. "I am not attempting to offer solutions," Judge Lindsey states, "I have no panacea. But I believe that if human society can ever be brought to diagnose its own case and to understand clearly some of the things that are the matter with it, our national mind—or whatever you choose to call the entity—will work the matter out to a reasonable solution." Most of the chapters of this book have to do with girls, usually high school girls, who have offended against society's code of sex conduct. In 1920-21, the only year for which he gives figures, Judge Lindsey dealt with 769 delinquent girls of high school age (14 to 17) of whom 304 were still in school. He ascribes modern youth's flouting of convention partly to "the boy with a flask," to the automobile, and to the rigidity of divorce laws which makes youth fear a relationship from which it is so difficult to escape, but more than any of these contributing factors, he blames the blindness of parents and teachers, and their failure to understand the urgencies of youth. While the book is marred in places by sentimentality and tinges of sensationalism, he makes a plea that will carry far for honest facing of facts, for tolerance an dunderstanding and faith. B.A.R.

THE CHILD, THE CLINIC, AND THE COURT, *A Group of Papers. New Republic, Inc.* 344 *pp. Price* $1.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

ONE OF the papers which composes this collection has been published in part in The Survey [When Children Sit in Judgment, by Miriam Van Waters: June 1, 1925]. The whole, putting together in print the series of notable addresses at the joint commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first Juvenile Court and the fifteenth anniversary of the first Psychopathic Institute, held last January in Chicago, brings together the considered opinions of an outstanding group of men and women who are spending their lives in the study and service of children in schools, courts, and clinics. The authors include A. L. Jacoby, Miriam Van Waters, Marion E. Kenworthy, William Healy, Helen T. Wooley, Herman M. Adler, Augusta F. Bronner, Smiley Blanton, Thomas D. Eliot, Nils Anderson, Franz Boas, Joel D. Hunter, Charles W. Hoffman, Grace Abbott, Ben B. Lindsey, Julia Lathrop, Julian W. Mack, G. W. Kirchwey, and others.

MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS, *by Jessice G. Cosgrove. George H. Doran Co., New York.* 117 *pp.* $1.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*

MRS. COSGROVE of the Finch School, New York city, here discusses such themes as The Value of Sacrifice, Honor and Responsibility, Romantic Love, Spiritual Life in an attempt to interpret modern daughters and parents to one another. It is a sane and tolerant little book, which takes for granted the place of movies, radio, automobile, and "speed" in present day life, and tries to make the best of them. It would probably be resented by the average daughter of high school or college age. To the conscientious and puzzled mother of such a girl it presents no new solutions, but the viewpoint and attitudes are invaluable. B.A.R.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MENTAL HYGIENE, *by Frankwood E. Williams, C. Macfie Campbell, Abraham Myerson, Arnold Gesell, Walter E. Fernald, Jessie Taft. Yale University Press.* 150 *pp. Price* $1.60 *postpaid of The Survey.*

THE LIST of men and women whose papers are published in this volume is sufficient review in itself for the initiated to bear witness to the quality of the volume. The papers were delivered in a noteworthy series at Yale University in the spring of 1923; they include as titles The Mechanism of Human Behavior, Mental Hygiene and Education, Mental Hygiene and Family Life, Mental Hygiene Service for Children, The Feebleminded and the Community, and Mental Hygiene and Social Work.

Industry and Economics

THE RELATION OF GOVERNMENT TO INDUSTRY, *by M. L. Requa. Macmillan.* 241 *pp. Price* $2.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

THOUGH probably representing the views of the present Administration, one cannot avoid feeling that this book is the product of a state of mind rather than a process of thought. The definitions of paternalism and communism are farfetched and question-begging; the historical generalizations are undiscriminating and illogically worked out. No distinction is made with reference to them as forms of government apart from modes of industrial control, so that they are quite profitless both for indsutry and politics. The author imagines that they are the only alternatives to individualism, which he makes the subject of his rhetorical appeal, drawing on American sentiment and pioneer days as his basis. But it appears that even his individualism is a pretense. His chapters on the signficance of raw materials, of transportation, of agriculture and his sympathy for labor aims in the new collaborative schemes show that he is not an individualist because of any natural rights theory but because he is subject to the great "red" scare. For he actually advocates government regulation and control of certain raw wealth, assistance to shipping, and concludes by requiring that schools and colleges teach the benefits of American Individualism by carefully selected and censored text books!

Rutgers University. HUGH MCD. CLOKIE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, *by William L. Ransom and Parker Thomas Moon. Academy of Political Science.* 198 *pp. Price* $2.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

THE INTRODUCTION OF ADAM SMITH'S DOCTRINES INTO GERMANY, *by Carl William Hasek. Longmans, Green & Co.* 155 *pp. Price* $1.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*

THE REGULARIZATION OF EMPLOYMENT, *by H. Feldman. Harper & Brothers.* 437 *pp. Price* $3.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY—*Volume I, by Wellington D. Jones and Derwent S. Whittlesey. University of Chicago Press.* 375 *pp. Price* $5.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

HARVARD BUSINESS REPORTS, *Compiled by Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard. A. W. Shaw Co.* 561 *pp. Price* $1.25 *postpaid of The Survey.*

THE ANTHRACITE QUESTION, *by Hilmar Stephen Raushenbush. H. W. Wilson Co.* 143 *pp. Price* $1.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*

CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, *by Walton H. Hamilton. University of Chicago Press.* 960 *pp. Price* $4.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OR SOCIALISM, *by Scoville Hamlin. Dorrance & Co.* 193 *pp. Price* $2.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

THE RELATION OF GOVERNMENT TO INDUSTRY, *by M. L. Requa. The Macmillan Co.* 241 *pp. Price* $2.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

THE FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY, *by Harold G. Moulton. University of Chicago Press.* 780 *pp. Price* $4.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

GASOLINE—*What Everyone Should Know About It, by T. A. Boyd. Frederick A. Stokes Co.* 211 *pp. Price* $2.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP, *by Carl D. Thompson. Thomas Y. Crowell Co.* 445 *pp. Price* $3.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

THE AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK, 1925. *Rand School of Social Science.* 488 *pp. Price* $3.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

A PITMAN'S NOTE BOOK, *by Roger Dataller. The Dial Press.* 270 *pp. Price* $2.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*

THE COST OF LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES, *National Industrial Conference Board,* 201 *pp. Price* $2.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*

THE ROMAN COLONATE, *by Roth Clausing. Longmans, Green & Co.* 323 *pp. Price* $3.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*

$3.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

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COMMUNICATIONS

When the Drums Begin to Beat

To the Editor: "Will they remember when the drums begin to beat?" is the phrase with which your reviewer of some current war plays closes his article. It is a pertinent question.

There is a more important one, however, that needs frank discussion at this time and that is, "*Should* they remember when the drums begin to beat?" It is probably true that many who believe that they now understand the irrational attitudes which war induces will be swept away by the madness of the moment when war comes, but what of those who do remember?

The sensitive point in popular thinking is just there. At the present time little consideration is given to the question of the right or duty of the one who remembers to act on his convictions and still less to that of whether he serves a useful purpose in society by doing so. Why imply that we ought to remember, unless you are ready to follow it up with a frank justification of all the implications that follow from such action?

I believe that you would render a valuable service by opening up an examination of the whole subject. *Should* they remember when the drums begin to beat?

Paul Jones

The Fellowship of Reconciliation,
New York

A Correction

To the Editor: President H. W. Chase of the University of North Carolina has called the attention of the Committee on Militarism in Education to the fact that no military training is given in the University of North Carolina. By an error the University of North Carolina was included in a list of colleges giving compulsory military training, in a pamphlet by Winthrop D. Lane, published by our Committee, which list was given in The Survey of December 15.

We regret this error and will be grateful for anything which The Survey can do to make known the truth that military training at the University of North Carolina was discontinued three years ago.

John Nevin Sayre

Chairman, Committee on Militarism
in Education

Anent Military Training

To the Editor: I am surprised that you can give space to such specious words as those in which John D. Kenderdine reiterates the old, discredited idolatrous attitude toward war as something that has to happen; for which schoolboys are taught modesty and courtesy, hygiene and sanitation, and in which (he implies) men who have been trained are not likely to be killed. Has he seen War in Pictures (International Federation of Trade Unions, Tesselschadestraat 31, Amsterdam, Holland)? This shows what happens to the most perfectly trained men. I have not met one young soldier returned from the ranks who did not perfectly understand, now, that the late war was a huge bunco game, and that every youth who entered it in good faith was buncoed.

Must college boys still be taught the old superstitions?

Lavinia L. Dock

Member of Women's International League
for Peace and Freedom

Salute!

To the Editor: I have read with great interest Mr. Kenderdine's article in The Survey. It is an excellent presentation—even if I am on the other side of the issue.

Edward Earle Eubank

University of Cincinnati

From a Reserve Officer

To the Editor: That is mighty good stuff, The Other Side of Military Training, of Mr. Kenderdine's, in the January 15 Survey.

My own war experience seems to duplicate his—a recognition of the fearful loss in lives and money due to inadequate training, this inadequate training in turn being due to lack of properly trained officers.

It has been with this conviction that I have continued in the Reserve and studied hard to the end that if hell breaks loose again I will be better equipped to lead men than before.

The Winthrop D. Lane pamphlet is sheer idiocy. The signers, by discouraging the development in educated men of the ability to handle the highly technical instrumentalities of war, would leave us absolutely helpless.

These signers mean well, of course, but I don't see why people can't love their fellow men without at the same time being damned fools.

Charles Dobbs

Lieutenant Colonel F. A. Res.,
Louisville, Ky.

From a Red Cross Representative

To the Editor: Permit me to express my enthusiastic endorsement of the article published in The Survey of January 15, entitled The Other Side of Military Training, by John D. Kenderdine.

I was Red Cross representative with the Second Division from April to August, inclusive, 1918, and it is my belief that every American in France at that time, will favor universal military training of the preliminary sort for the youth of this country. Those who oppose military training, would probably object to a boy receiving boxing or wrestling lessons. In the present state of human nature, it is not safe to rely upon moral suasion. These anti-militarists remind me of the man who sprinkled holy water on the man-eating tiger which was charging him, and was then surprised to find himself in the next world.

G. Arthur Gordon

Savannah, Ga.

The White Cross

To the Editor: Writing in the October 15 Survey, John Palmer Gavit depicts forcibly the need of "a permanent voluntary international organization" for creating world public opinion and focussing it against the narcotics peril.

May I presume to nominate as such an agency the White Cross International Antinarcotics Society. Nearly six years ago we stimulated action in Washington whereby forgotten regulations were made effective, stopping the export of narcotics to some dozen different countries. Next came the Jones-Miller Bill prohibiting import, export and carriage across the country, except for medicine under restrictions carefully drawn at Washington.

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Do Tell.

A Bit of Gossip Now and Then Is Relished by the Best of Men

May is open season for conferences; hunters for the elusive idea that will take the kink out of next year's work will then be out in force. Cleveland from May 26 to June 3 will be a mecca for social workers in all fields, attending the National Conference of Social Work and the kindred group meetings. There will be 6,000 of them for you to join in with. And from May 17 to 22 eight thousand nurses and public health workers will attend the National Health Congress at Atlantic City. This is the largest convention of the kind ever held, the three groups comprising the American Nursing Association holding their biennial meeting in conjunction with the annual meeting of the groups comprising the National Health Council.

* * *

What is a social worker to do if she works in St. Louis on the Mississippi River? The telephone rings. She takes off the receiver and asks who is calling.

"This is Mississippi."

"Do tell! I thought it might be Missouri."

So it goes when the call comes from the wife of Dr. Sippy of St. Louis.

* * *

We Thank You, Senator

Hon. C. Oliver Holmes, formerly State Senator of Indiana, and ex-president of the Indian Conference on Social Work, writes us:

"Your query in the December 15 number as to 'Just what, by the way, is an "easy" cow?', stirs interesting memories of boyhood days on a Hoosier farm.

"Cows like humans can be quite anti-social, so naturally they were called 'ornery.' Some due to shock, abuse or irregular care, would 'hold their milk.' Those that were 'ornery' were not easy, hence avoided by the boys or those who did not like to milk.

"Having 'pailed' from five to twelve cows for years every night and morning until I was nearly eighteen, do I qualify on 'easy' cows?

"We had a fine State Conference at Vincennes in October, 'Alice' was hostess, and The Survey was well represented. More power to you."

* * *

Love?

"Love" is a risky word to use. There is more than one way of its leading to trouble. In our zeal to sell Survey books we prepared an advertisement for The Survey with the heading:

Love Books?

We meant, of course, "Do you love books?" but the proofreader, more romantic than we thought proofreaders ever could be, read it "Are you interested in love books?" We didn't run the ad.

Books or Booze?

M. C. stood in the rotunda of Grand Central Station awaiting the train to take her to the Connecticut Nurses meeting. Beside her was an 80 lb. fibroid case filled with the Survey book display. The porters avoided her, the station ushers eyed her askance. Finally she corralled an aged Negro who agreed to carry her books. As they passed through the gate, she heard an usher whisper to a station detective, "There she goes, loaded with the stuff—the bootlegger I was telling you about. The nerve of her!"

* * *

Only a few left of the Dollar Edition of "The Mind in the Making," by James Harvey Robinson.

J. D. K.

Savannah Gains Most

The rating of cities of the United States of 50,000 population or more (1920 Federal census) with relation to the percentage of subscriptions (Survey and Survey Graphic). Figures at the right show only relative standing, and do not represent the number of subscriptions. The first column at the left shows the present rank of each city, followed by the rank two months ago (see The Survey for December 15).

The South gained heavily during the past two months. Savannah, Georgia, climbed from 113th place to 58th—the second greatest gain on record. Other cities to gain 20 places or more were, in order: Des Moines, Jacksonville, Topeka, Birmingham, Charleston, S. C., Houston, New Orleans, Rockford, Ill., Springfield, Ohio.

But Berkeley and Scranton still top the list. Can't some other city snatch the palm?

*1—1	Berkeley, Calif.	1.373	51—43	Portland, Ore.	.329
2—2	Scranton, Pa.	.978	52—91	Jacksonville, Fla.	.326
3—4	Cambridge, Mass.	.800	53—37	Schenectady, N. Y.	.326
4—3	Lincoln, Nebr.	.745	54—56	Allentown, Pa.	.324
5—6	Harrisburg, Pa.	.737	55—42	Providence, R. I.	.319
6—5	Los Angeles, Calif.	.629	56—36	Atlanta, Ga.	.318
7—8	Springfield, Ill.	.559	57—52	Reading, Pa.	.315
8—16	Lansing, Mich.	.544	58—113	Savannah, Ga.	.313
9—7	Pittsburgh, Pa.	.543	59—35	Indianapolis, Ind.	.312
10—14	New Haven, Conn.	.534	60—51	Chester, Pa.	.310
11—9	E. Orange, N. J.	.529	61—69	Bridgeport, Conn.	.306
12—10	Columbus, Ohio	.528	62—71	Duluth, Minn.	.303
13—55	Des Moines, Ia.	.524	63—50	Erie, Pa.	.301
14—18	Nashville, Tenn.	.500	64—63	Milwaukee, Wis.	.300
15—20	Washington, D. C.	.489	65—74	Canton, Ohio	.299
16—21	Cincinnati, Ohio	.486	66—75	Seattle, Wash.	.298
17—17	Hartford, Conn.	.478	67—64	Chicago, Ill.	.285
18—15	Lancaster, Pa.	.453	68—60	Memphis, Tenn.	.284
19—13	Wilmington, Del	.436	69—44	Johnstown, Pa.	.284
20—19	Minneapolis, Minn.	.436	70—84	Davenport, Ia.	.281
21—27	Wichita, Kan.	.431	71—59	Niagara Falls, N. Y.	.275
22—11	Omaha, Nebr.	.416	72—76	Wilkes Barre, Pa.	.270
23—12	Albany, N. Y.	.416	73—58	Sioux City, Ia.	.268
24—22	Boston, Mass.	.410	74—68	Youngstown, O.	.265
25—31	Cleveland, Ohio.	.409	75—101	Charleston, S. C.	.265
26—41	Rochester, N. Y.	.405	76—73	St. Louis, Mo.	.263
27—32	Syracuse, N. Y.	.401	77—81	Bethlehem, Pa.	.260
28—26	St. Paul, Minn.	.400	78—70	Binghamton, N. Y.	.254
29—23	Louisville, Ky.	.400	79—86	Trenton, N. J.	.252
30—66	Topeka, Kan.	.400	80—67	Kansas City, Mo.	.250
31—33	Little Rock, Ark.	.400	81—72	Tacoma, Wash.	.247
32—24	Grand Rapids, Mich.	.399	82—80	Evansville, Ind.	.247
33—25	San Francisco, Calif.	.394	83—104	Houston, Tex.	.246
34—54	Rockford, Ill.	.394	84—114	Birmingham, Ala.	.246
35—28	Troy, N. Y.	.389	85—77	Worcester, Mass	.244
36—40	Terre Haute, Ind.	.379	86—94	Brockton, Mass.	.242
37—49	Portland, Me.	.377	87—85	Saginaw, Mich.	.242
38—46	Wheeling, W. Va.	.375	88—78	Oklahoma City, Okla.	.242
39—53	Long Beach, Calif.	.375	89—82	Racine, Wis.	.237
40—38	Denver, Colo.	.375	90—88	Gary, Ind.	.236
41—29	Baltimore, Md.	.375	91—89	Atlantic City, N. J.	.235
42—57	Richmond, Va.	.360	92—83	Holyoke, Mass.	.233
43—30	Dayton, Ohio.	.360	93—99	Macon, Ga.	.226
44—62	Chattanooga, Tenn.	.345	94—79	Detroit, Mich.	.224
45—65	Springfield, Ohio	.344	95—96	Akron, Ohio.	.221
46—45	Philadelphia, Pa	.344	96—47	Knoxville, Tenn.	.218
47—39	Toledo, Ohio.	.342	97—126	South Bend, Ind.	.211
48—48	Yonkers, N. Y.	.340	98—92	Ft. Wayne, Ind.	.207
49—34	New York, N. Y.	.331	99—90	Spokane, Wash.	.202
50—61	Springfield, Mass.	.331	100—87	Buffalo, N. Y.	.201
			101—106	Waterbury, Conn.	.196
			102—107	Salt Lake City, Utah	.195
			103—123	New Orleans, La.	.191
			104—97	Oakland, Calif.	.185
			105—112	Altoona, Pa.	.183
			106—105	Dallas, Tex.	.182
			107—98	Utica, N. Y.	.179
			108—95	New Bedford, Mass.	.165
			109—100	Mobile, Ala.	.164
			110—110	Norfolk, Va.	.164
			111—111	Newark, N. J.	.157
			112—121	Elizabeth, N. J.	.156
			113—124	El Paso, Tex.	.154
			114—103	Manchester, N. H.	.154
			115—108	Tulsa, Okla.	.153
			116—134	Ft. Worth, Tex.	.151
			117—128	Lawrence, Mass.	.149
			118—122	Haverhill, Mass.	.148
			119—93	Fall River, Mass.	.142
			120—119	St. Joseph, Mo.	.141
			121—102	Huntington, W. Va.	.140
			122—109	Kansas City, Kan.	.139
			123—120	Tampa, Fla.	.135
			124—117	Flint, Mich.	.130
			125—118	Paterson, N. J.	.125
			126—131	Roanoke, Va.	.118
			127—115	Passaic, N. J.	.109
			128—116	Pawtucket, R. I.	.109
			129—136	San Antonio, Tex.	.106
			130—125	Lynn, Mass.	.101
			131—130	Camden, N. J.	.095
			132—135	Bayonne, N. J.	.091
			133—133	Hoboken, N. J.	.088
			134—127	Somerville, Mass.	.086
			135—132	Jersey City, N. J.	.081
			136—129	Lowell, Mass.	.080
			137—137	Covington, Ky	.035
			138—138	E. St. Louis, Mo.	.000

**Figure in first column shows present rank. Figure in second (preceding name) shows rank two months ago.*

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In laying this measure before Congress our organization pledged itself to promote eradication of the opium poppy by international cooperation, and memorialized the Senate (S. J. Res. 201) for participation in the World Opium Conference. We helped arouse the country in support of Mr. Porter's epoch-making resolutions, and in further support sent our representatives to Geneva bearing a petition headed by the New York State Chamber of Commerce, church national organizations, Salvation Army, American Legion, A. F. of L., Federated Women's Clubs, P. T. A., and 300,000 other signatures of individuals and organizations.

The petition brought from India the signatures of Gandhi, Andrews, Tagore, Chatterjee, Paul and other leaders of Indian progress, who had been claimed as indifferent toward the opium question, and of civic and religious societies with a quarter of a million members.

The A. F. of L. Convention having issued an appeal to labor unions throughout the world, the White Cross forwarded the appeal to labor unions in Great Britain, and to members of the House of Commons, with widely felt effect.

The activities developed by the White Cross include,

1. Information and education throughout the United States, pervasive and universal.

2. Creation of volumes of public opinion in other countries to induce effective action abroad.

3. Aid in suppressing smuggling, and the peddling whereby addiction is systematically extended.

4. Methods of care of addicts better than the inhumane and futile policy of jails and prisons.

The White Cross, first established at Seattle, has recently become established in New York city, with office at 34 West 49 Street. The New York Executive Committee and officers are: Mrs. Hollister Sturges, Vice President, John H. Finley, Chairman; Ambrose M. Bailey, Rupert Blue, M. D., Martin Conboy, Hugh Frayne, Sidney L. Gulick, John S. Kennedy, Colonel Henry D. Lindsley and Major General John F. O'Ryan.

The object of the White Cross is the "ultimate complete suppression throughout the world of the use of narcotic drugs except for medical and scientific purposes." Our plans include a World Council to unite all other countries in an organization allied with ours.

To all who recognize in our object, and in our program for its attainment, a platform potentially effective, we respectively tender our invitation to unite their efforts with ours.

WILLIAM K. MCKIBBEN
Executive Secretary, The White Cross International Antinarcotic Society, Seattle.

More About Orphanages

TO THE EDITOR: If your column on the Matter of Orphanages is still in receptive mood, I would ask a few lines of space on a point of personal privilege.

Mr. Langer towards the end of his righteous indignation at Mr. Reeder's article Orphaned Orphanages switches from his main theme to express disapproval of the practice in Baltimore regarding the types of problem cases segregated in Levindale. By virtue of my superintendency of the Jewish Children's Society of Baltimore during the building of Levindale, and for about one year of its operation, I have had a share in the shaping of the policies and the establishing of practices there. This is what actually happened. There were two Jewish orphanages, both of the congregate type, in Baltimore, up to August or September 1921. Each orphanage housed about 100 children. Both admitted a certain percentage of problem children, and Mr. Drucker, superintendent of the orthodox institution, who later wrote Children Astray, broke with tradition and actually gloried in taking in "bad" boys and girls. Mr. Sharlitt, then superintendent of the reformed orphanage, followed suit. Both felt that an orphanage could absorb about 20 per cent of problem cases without detriment. Boarding-out work for very young children and some health problems was carried out on a small scale by the Children's Bureau. Then came the amalgamation of the whole works into one society. Building plans for a modern cottage institution, which had been dormant during the war, were completed with speed. The plans called for a capacity of 125 children with facilities for diagnostic work. I came to Baltimore in November 1921, after one of the two institutions had been abandoned and about 25 per cent of all the children sent back to their own homes upon reinvestigation. Upon surveying the situation I recommended postponement of the building program for two or three years, as I felt that the expenditure of large sums of money was not justified. I found the placing of children in private family homes feasible outside of a group of about 20 or 25 children who I thought needed special training at the hads of specially equipped people. For these I recommended the establishment of two or three scattered homes. In spite of all my efforts, the institution was built. The community felt that it could not do without an orphanage; large sums of money had been collected years previous and the donors could not be disappointed. Some people had donated whole buildings as memorials to their beloved ones and they were pressing hard for realization of their dreams and their obligations. But instead of building for 125, we compromised on a capacity of 75. It was a beautiful modern cottage institution when erected. A fit memorial to the benevolence and generosity of Baltimore Jewry. There it stood, all complete, ready to move in on September 1, 1923. We moved in on the sixth of of that month and when we counted noses, there were only 51 children; all the rest had been satisfactorily adjusted in private family homes. Of the 51, twenty-odd had been slated for transfer to private family homes as soon as they could be secured. The institution with its marble staircases, tile baths and other up to the minute appaointments was beckoning to children to come in. It could not possibly be disgraced by being left empty. The pressure of pride and finance was terrific. Someone hit on a bright idea and saved the situation. There were a score or more of undernourished children known to various agencies. Why not give them a chance? Out to Levindale they went. The same thing happened to some other types of children, of whom no respectable orphanage would ever be proud. The institution had to be used.

JACOB KEPECS
Superintendent Jewish Home Finding Society, Chicago

If Mr. Munsey—

TO THE EDITOR: The forty millions which Mr. Munsey gave to art might have been given more appropriately to other fields of endeavor, if we may trust the public comments which this generous gift has awakened. In the broad fields of scientific research, education, public health, charity and art, there are vast needs for such gifts, but logically treasure should be given first for needs whose fulfillment in future time depends upon immediate help. Needs which depend upon things which are not perishing at this moment or which can be replaced or supplied later may be left to late givers. Doubtless, however, Mr. Munsey considered the needs of art to be immediate in this sense and dedicated his gift to objects whose preservation in his judgment ought not to be delayed.

Either by purchase or by weaving gradually around them an enlightened and protecting public sentiment, the human family has already laid up a store of precious things of priceless value from many fields. In one field we have saved, though all too few, precious art treasures, manuscripts, and records of the ancient world for the use of posterity. We have saved certain objective rights, liberties, powers and customs. In another field we are beginning to conserve for future generations natural resources (*Continued on page* 582)

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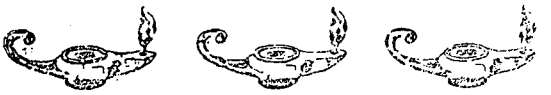

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SOCIAL WORK SHOPTALK

THE following letter, according to the federal Children's Bureau, is all in the day's work of a Sheppard-Towner nurse, but fortunately not in every day's work. Its scene is a western state; only the names have been changed.

"I must tell you about my sad experience of the trip to Manora. Left Smithtown about eight, although I started from town at seven; I landed in somebody's back yard and so came back to the garage and the boy there took me out as far as the highway. Drove to Andover, which was seventeen miles beyond the road that I wanted, but, as you have probably heard Dr. Harrison say, there are no sign posts anywhere. After having a sandwich I drove back and got on the right road and everything went along finely until 3 P. M.

"The road was awfully rocky and I had a beautiful blow-out. After that things went along nicely until time to light the lights, when one went on the bum. When I got as far as Crow Lake, it looked as though the road the garage man told me to take was wet and I knew that when those dry lakes were wet they were like quick sand, so I decided to take the road that looked the best used. In doing so I had to go up a slight hill, my brakes gave way and I just naturally went back and over the hill. It was lucky for me it was not very steep, nevertheless it put an awful crimp in my courage for by that time I was pretty tired.

"I had not passed a sign post or a human being all day, and so had no idea how far I still had to go, but I kept on driving for what seemed to me miles and finally ran out of gas. Well, there I was in the desert with no gas; as it was dark I decided to stay in the car all night and start walking in the morning. It was pretty chilly and the coyotes howling made it anything but a pleasant night. At six in the morning took a canteen of water and started, walked until about eleven thirty when I met a car, but of course they were going in the wrong direction; they told me however that I was sixteen miles from Manora. I started again although I was pretty tired and it was getting hot too. By one o'clock I was feeling pretty bad. My feet were sore and my head and the back of my neck and the upper part of my legs ached like toothache. I'd walk about fifteen minutes, sit down to rest and then cry for about five minutes, then start again. At four thirty a man on horseback came along and I asked him how far I was from Manora; he said 'ten miles, all hills.' I was so all in I just could not stand anything so I sat right in the middle of the road and cried. I never could make it, so this man put me on the horse and took me to his cabin, made me a cup of stiff black coffee and let me rest awhile. His wife got me something to eat, which I could not eat, then I went to bed just so fagged out I wanted to die. The next morning the man went out in the desert and got my car, he got back about noon, we had lunch and then I started out. I surely was in no condition to ride but thought I ought to get in. It was a dreadful road.

"I finally came to a sign-post tht said 'Manora 2 miles.' I had no speedometer on my car so of course could not judge two miles. I kept on driving, thinking I would soon see the town, when all of a sudden the car skidded to the side of the road and I could not steer it any more. I got out and looked and it seemed to me that I had broken the front spring. The fenders were right down on the tires. It was getting pretty dark but I decided that I could not be very far from the town and would try to walk in. I started walking and crying at the same time. Finally after I had walked quite a ways I saw a car coming and it happened to be one of the boys from the State Engineering Department, so I asked him for a ride between sobs, and how far away I was from Manora. He said 'seven and a half miles.' I had passed the town and never saw it. After supper we went on and got the car, and found the spring was broken. The spring was weak and in going over a bump it caught down to the rod that connects the wheels.

"We brought the car in and then I retired but I could not sleep nor could I eat the next day; I just quivered all the time. It is better today and I am holding clinics here for two days.

"I am just scared to death now to be out on this desert alone."

PASSING on a piece of misinformation, Shoptalk announced mistakenly in the January Midmonthly that Emma Winslow had joined the staff of the Marion County Child Health Demonstration. Miss Winslow's correct title is Publicity and Research Secretary for the Child Health Demonstration Committee, with headquarters in Room 1648, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York city; she spends part of her time in the field, however, working with the local staffs of the four demonstrations under the Commonwealth Fund Program, of which Marion County is one.

THE AMALGAMATED BANK of New York, New York's first labor bank, recently moved into quarters which, for spaciousness and the general display of gleaming marble and mahogany, could not be distinguished from those of other prosperous metropolitan banking institutions. Since its organization in 1923 the bank has occupied a crowded and inconvenient room on the second floor of an old building at 103 East 14 Street. The new location is on the southwest corner of 15th Street and Union Square. The bank opened with assets of $556,000. It now has 12,375 depositors and its deposits amount to $6,466,000. In describing the opening of the bank's new quarters, Advance, the organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, commented, "The electric flashing of the words 'Amalgamated Bank of New York,' which greets tens of thousands of workers on their way home from the shops in Union Square, . . . means that the day may not be far off when Labor will extend its activities to spheres hitherto undreamed of. This, more than anything else, is the significance of the success of the Amalgamated Bank."

NORTH CAROLINA has recently held what is thought to have been the first Negro state welfare conference under the auspices of the state board of charities and public welfare. H. Hoyle Sink, state pardon commissioner, addressed a conference as representative of Governor A. W. McLean, and the other speakers included Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson, state commissioner of public welfare, and Lt. Lawrence A. Oxley, who is in charge of work among the Negroes.

THE Maternity Center Association in New York city has moved its administrative offices from 370 Seventh Avenue to 578 Madison Avenue.

A LARGE EXTENSION in its care for the aged, for convalescent adults, and for boys and girls in summer camps, has been made possible for the New York A. I. C. P. by the recent gift of the Robert Boyd Ward Fund, Inc., of a thousand acres on the Hudson river in Dutchess County, with many buildings, and upwards of $1,000,000 with which to establish and maintain the new enterprise. It will be known as Ward Haven.

L. E. LASHMAN has been elected superintendent of the Jewish Children's Home at New Orleans, La., after three years' service as its Extension Director.

WILLIAM H. PARKER has resigned his position as secretary of the National Conference of Social Work, and will join the staff of the American Association for Community Organization. His successor has not, at the time of going to press, been appointed.

ALLAN BLOOM has become educational director of the Jewish Federation of Indianapolis. Mr. Bloom has been executive director of the Jewish Federation of Social Service in Dallas, Texas.

MARY PALEVSKY has been appointed executive director of the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Brooklyn, organized in May, 1925, to coordinate the work of the Brooklyn Jewish Big Brother and Big Sister Association, the Protective Aid Committee of the Council of Jewish Women and the Brooklyn Lodge of the B'nai B'rith.

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The Bureau plans to do Jewish predelinquency and delinquency work, and later it probably will undertake probation and after-care as well. For four years Miss Palevsky has been District Supervisor for the United Hebrew Charities in New York city.

ELIZABETH PERRY, who has been chairman of the committee on Legal Status of Women of the Illinois League of Women Voters, has been appointed assistant state's attorney in the Juvenile Court.

AFTER SEVENTY years during which it has maintained a congregate type of orphanage, the Society for the Relief of Destitute Children of Seamen announces that it has decided to scrap its old building at West New Brighton and to embark on a child placing program. Provision already has been made for the children who were living at the orphanage. New applicants will be studied physically and mentally before they are placed in foster homes. Dr. Stanley King will be in charge of the psychiatric work; and Annie E. McCord, executive secretary of the placement work can be reached at 24 East 10 Street, New York city.

THE JEWISH Social Service Quarterly has recently made its bow in new dress and enlarged format under the editorial direction of I. M. Rubinow and Benjamin Glassberg. The greater part of the December issue, the first of this new regime, is devoted to a symposium on Jewish standards of relief, with papers by Maurice Taylor, John Slawson, Julia A. Dushkin, Charles S. Bernheimer, M.D., M. A. Leavitt, H. L. Lurie and Morris D. Waldman.

MILLS COLLEGE has undertaken a novel form of cooperation with Mrs. Elizabeth Anderson, policewoman in Berkeley, California, by assigning certain students in sociology to read and abstract books and articles on crime, juvenile delinquency and psychiatry to save her time. A graduate student in social economics at the University of California has undertaken to give several hours a week in research for Mrs. Anderson.

MRS. HELEN B. JOHNSON has been appointed as the first policewoman in Pasadena, Cal., to take charge of police work among women, girls, and children, and exercise police supervision over public dance halls and theaters.

DR. LOUIS I. HARRIS, recently appointed Health Commissioner of New York city, has been in the service of the department since 1907, latterly as head of the bureau of preventive diseases. He is a lecturer on hygiene at Bellevue Hospital Medical College, chairman of the section on public health administration of the American Public Health Association, a trustee of the United Hebrew Charities, and president of the Association of Tuberculosis Clinics of New York city.

THE LARGEST registration ever reached at the New York School of Social Work was that of the fall quarter of 1925, when its students numbered 364 as against the previous high record of 202 in 1924. This increase is due partly to the additional extension courses offered this year, though the number of students in the regular course far outnumbers the corresponding group last year.

FRED T. HARRIS, for several years publicity director of the Rochester Community Chest, died on December 14 as the result of a stroke of apoplexy. Mr. Harris had been in failing health since his return from Savannah, Georgia, where he handled the publicity for the new chest.

W. FREDERICK MOSEL, formerly with the Boys' Club, has become publicity secretary of the National Probation Association.

DR. R. G. LELAND, who for six years has been chief of the division of hygiene of the Ohio State Department of Health, has resigned to become director of the Toledo Public Health Federation. He is succeeded by Dr. Jackson A. Frank, for the past five years chief of the bureau of tuberculosis.

THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU has taken over, as a major activity, the study of financial support of national organizations, recommended by Porter Lee and Walter Pettit in their report of interrelationships of national social work organizations. For over a year, a "type" study of the National Tuberculosis Association has been in progress in the office of Raymond B. Fosdick, with Mark M. Jones in direct charge. It is now practically complete. The great amount of time given to the study of the National Tuberculosis Association has been due to the desire to establish a method for studying other national organizations. At a meeting of the National Information Bureau's committee on study of national agencies, held February 1, it was agreed that the National Council of the Y. M. C. A. should be asked to submit to an intensive study of its financial support, as typical of several organizations working through local branches and depending largely on local constituencies for financial support. Along with this intensive study of the Y. M. C. A. will go a less intensive survey of the financial support of about forty national organizations, carrying on a nation-wide work through local affiliations of one kind or another. A sub-committee has been appointed to have general supervision of the study of financial support: Philip P. Jacobs, National Tuberculosis Association, John B. Andrews, American Association for Labor Legislation, Sherrard Ewing, National Association of Travelers Aid Societies; Dr. William F. Snow, American Association for Social Hygiene, Howard F. Braucher, Playground and Recreation Ass'n of America. Robert Gould, who has had the immediate supervision for the "type" study of the National Tuberculosis Association, joined the staff of the National Information Bureau on January 15 in order to assume charge of the continuing study.

ALLEN T. BURNS, who has been director of the Bureau since July 1, 1922, resigned on January 15, in order to become executive director of the American Association for Community Organization. Pierce Williams, Organization Secretary, is temporarily in charge of the Bureau until the selection of a new director.

THE SEPARATION of the American Association for Community Organization from the National Information Bureau, voted by the board of directors of the Association at its meeting held in Chicago September 21, 1925, has been made effective through action taken by the executive committee at a meeting held in Cincinnati on January 25, 1926. Allen T. Burns, formerly director of the National Information Bureau, was elected executive director. Pierce Williams, who, as a member of the staff of the Bureau, has been giving practically all of his time to community chest work, also becomes a member of the staff of the Association. Oscar Schoenherr, managing director of the Welfare Federation of the Oranges, N. J., was elected treasurer, and Mrs. George Herbert Clark, of the board of directors of the Los Angeles Community Welfare Federation, was elected secretary. The other officers of the Association are Halstead L. Ritter, president, Henry G. Stevens, vice president.

Mr. Burns will devote his time chiefly to work in the field, visiting community chests and helping them to solve their problems of policy and administration. Mr. Williams will be responsible for the executive work in the New York office, with only occasional visits into the field. The offices of the Association will remain in New York during 1926, and the Association has rented approximately half the office space at present occupied by the National Information Bureau. By virtue of a lump sum contribution voted by the A. A. C. O. to the National Information Bureau for the year 1926, every contributing member of the association will be entitled to reports on national philanthropic organizations coming within the field of the Bureau.

EDITH BURLEIGH is chairman of the Los Angeles chapter of the American Association of Social Workers; Joseph Bonaparte, vice-chairman; Helen Montegriffo, secretary; and Jessie Dean, treasurer. Emory S. Bogardus, Miriam Van Waters, and G. Eleanor Kimble comprise the executive committee. The chapter has started a cooperative training course for students in training in social agencies under a committee headed by Louise Drury. The students are college graduates who already have had theoretical training in sociology, economics, psychology and kindred fields. Each student works three days a week in one of the case-working agencies and arranges to stay with that agency for a period of two years. The rest of the week is spent in attending lectures and in class work.

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Your work is unique, and the comfort you give your poor sufferers is wonderful. I was so impressed by my visit that I have been brimming over with admiration. I have visited many hospitals and homes all over, here and abroad, but none can come up to your home. It is a wonderful piece of work. You deserve all the help you need for the building mentioned.

Very sincerely yours,
MRS. S. B. STANTON.

I have known about this lofty work of yours since long ago—indeed, from the day you began it; I have known of its steady growth and progress, step by step, to its present generous development, and assured position among those benefactions to which the reverent homage of all creeds and colors is due; I have seen it rise from seedling to tree with no endowment but the voluntary aid which your patient labor and faith have drawn from the purses of grateful and compassionate men; and I am glad in the prosperous issue of your work, and glad to know that this prosperity will continue, and be permanent—a thing which I do know, for that endowment is banked where it cannot fail until pity fails in the hearts of men, and that will never be.

Sincerely yours,
S. S. CLEMENS,
"Mark Twain."

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Communications

(*Continued from page* 578)

of limited amount like radium, coal, oil, forests and certain rare forms of animal and plant life. The conservation of ability, taste, genius and of amity among peoples still lies before us.

There is another tangible field of conservation of perishable things which must be saved early if they are to serve future needs. That field preserves natural scenery of exceedingly beautiful or characteristic types which would be destroyed otherwise by ordinary economic processes, but which will be needed by the generations of the future to give a vision of the unspoiled loveliness of the earth. In every country of the world men of vision are laying up store of such lands for future public need. Such conservation in our own land has preserved the Yosemite Valley, the Colorado Grand Canyon, Glacier Park and all the national parks of the West freighted with their individual and sensitive beauty and amounting in all to many thousands of square miles. East of the Mississippi no substantial areas of characteristic and beautiful scenery have been preserved in a similar way. At this moment one of the only remaining large tracts of unspoiled mountain and forest scenery of unusual nobility and distinction east of the Mississippi is hanging in the balance between acquisition for a national park and destruction by lumbering operations. That tract includes the virgin forests and the high peaks of the Great Smoky Mountains of Tennessee.

Year by year, in the growth of our cities and towns and in the development of our resources in raw materials we witness the destruction of such regions of surpassing natural beauty which are as valuable to the human family in many respects as are the precious works of art which Mr. Munsey's gift will secure, but which are even more sensitive to injury and are in as great need of immediate protection. To express the hope that other gifts prompted by the considerations of public interest which animated Mr. Munsey may be devoted to the acquisition of land possessing scenery of such incomparable loveliness as that of the Great Smoky Mountain region does not disparage what he has done, but indicates the opportunity which exists for public spirited help in a wide field of immediate need. In this field, gifts of such great size are not demanded, but the results of generous giving here are vast both in the extent of precious ground which can be saved and in significance to coming generations.

ARTHUR A. SHURTLEFF
Vice-president American Society of Landscape Architects, Boston

Do Women in Industry Need Special Protection?

(*Continued from page* 532)

that labor turnover on transit lines is high means, however, that newcomers move up into the senior groups with relative promptness.) Also the requirement that women must do their work during consecutive hours made their continued employment impossible because of the two peaks of heavy travel in the New York city day.

Thus the law that was enacted to protect women engaged on the New York transit lines was such as to make their employment practically impossible. Of course the question arose as to whether women would have been continued in the service anyway after the return of the men from the war. The answer is that probably the majority would not have been kept, but, once more, the minority, with little question, would have been.

Mollifying assertions were heard from various sources at this time to the effect that women were well out of transportation employment anyway, for "work on street cars was not intended for women." Others saw just another eco-

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nomic handicap that proved to be an unnecessary one. The Federal Women's Bureau found that the health and happiness of women so employed was increased, that they enjoyed the fresh air, and their hours of labor were no longer than those worked by women for years.

THIS discovery suggests the elaborate amount of false reasoning to which we have submitted in regard to the physiology of women. For example, we have no proof that customary exercise of the muscles is injurious to women during the menstrual period. Indeed, Dr. Reynold Spaeth of Johns Hopkins University says that regular physical activity seems to be beneficial to women and that menstruation is actually facilitated and is less painful among women in industry than among the same group before they began gainful work. Dr. Spaeth stresses the need of good ventilation and generally desirable working conditions, and he emphasizes the value of alternating positions from sitting to standing instead of continuous sitting which may produce constipation and congestion of the blood. He declares that the physical and other differences between men and unmarried women do not demand special health standards for women.

And again, John L. Gernon, after long experience as chief factory inspector in New York, replies to the question as to how heavy a weight women in industry should be permitted to lift, "Show me the woman." This, of course, is the logical distinction in the employment of both men and women. It points to the more individual attention that can be given by the work's doctor.

Polishing and grinding processes and core making are two more occupations in which special laws have been harmful instead of protective to women, prohibitive acts having been passed because of the injurious dusts, fumes and gases.

The evolution of the New York act for women core makers is a story to be told by itself. As for polishing and grinding operations, it may be said briefly that this "exclusion from an occupation that is profitable" was a "needless price" that women were obliged to pay, for machines are now equipped with exhaust systems that carry off all of the dangerous gases.* And in addition to this direct effect upon the employment for women these laws lessen women's chances of getting any jobs which require the use of machine tools. This is owing to the custom in many shops for each operator to grind his own tools, making it necessary for firms to hire extra men to take care of women's tools.

These are some of the less known facts that are basic in the protest against special laws for women as a possible entering wedge for legislation for both sexes. The price to women is high when the economic odds are already heaped against them. They ask for help instead of hindrance. Such legislation "will protect women to the vanishing point," says Ella Sherwin, printer.

THE attitude of organized men in regard to special legislation for women has been suggested. Briefly, they are in favor of it for women and opposed to it for themselves. Their opposition springs from their belief that help from the state lessens the lure of the unions as a power for protecting the worker, making organization more difficult. This in spite of the fact, (*Continued on page* 585)

*The New Position of Women in Industry, Women's Bureau of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, pp. 103-104.

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AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONTROL OF CANCER—Dr. George A. Soper, managing director; 370 Seventh Ave., New York. To disseminate knowledge concerning symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publication free on request. Annual membership dues, $5.00.

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CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA—C. C. Carstens, director. 130 E. 22d Street, New York City. A league of children's agencies and institutions to secure improved standards and methods in their various fields of work. It also cooperates with other children's agencies, cities, states, churches, fraternal orders and other civic groups to work out worth-while results in phases of child welfare in which they are interested.

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WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA—Spencer Miller, Jr., sec'y; 476 West 24th St. A clearing-house for Workers' Education.

Do Women in Industry Need Special Protection?

(*Continued from page* 583)

as we have seen, that the great majority of workers in this country have not become members of unions.

Thus it is an open secret that organized labor's advocacy of protective legislation for women only, is a case of mixed motives with which this whole question is irretrievably fraught. It is a noteworthy fact, for example, that the Women's Joint Legislative Conference of New York was admittedly organized in 1918 "at the request of the State Federation of Labor to formulate and push a program of women's labor bills." Let us run through the history of the law for women core makers.

The International Molders Union has considered the presence of women in foundries an "industrial problem" ever since the first decade of this century when women began to appear in substantial numbers. The union adopted resolutions to the effect that any member who gave instruction to females in any branch of the trade should be expelled, that they would work for the restriction of employment of women and children in foundries with the idea of eventually eliminating it "in the uplifting of humanity." They repeatedly urged the New York state legislature to pass a bill to this effect. Thus they were eager witnesses during the hearings of the Factory Investigating Commission which led to the 1913 bill prohibiting women from making cores when the cores were baked in the making room. They held that foundries are "no place for a woman," that if women have to work they should answer the "ads" for domestic servants, that "some women working in foundries cannot boil water without burning it, and to become the wife of a man they should have a training at home and learn housework."

So in the desire to free themselves of the growing competition of women, foundrymen turned to the time-old argument about woman's place being in the home and to that of the welfare of the race by keeping her there.

In restaurants and drug stores women have also felt the competition of men through the impact of special legislation. Many waitresses are resentfully aware, when their work is taken on by men at ten at night, that the heaviest peak of serving is over while the heaviest tipping by patrons has just begun. Moreover they point to the fact that the law does not interfere with the night work of women employed "as singers and performers of any kind." This second group complements rather than competes with men and their services are undisturbed by the law.

In drug stores the night occupations were left open for men when in 1920 the New York legislature brought drug stores under the mercantile law in respect to the hours of women.

And now it appears that scrubbing in our great office buildings is coming to be work for men. The familiar figures of cramped and tired scrub women are disappearing and men with electric machines are taking their places. This change is not because the work is harder, it is asserted, but because it is better paid—a few now can do the work of many when the job was done by hand. Will this bring a demand for a new law for the "protection" of women it is queried? These men are not organized, but organization and tradition are with them.

In the eternal struggle for economic security, it is not difficult to understand the self-preservation tactics of men's unions. But for the long run it is pretty certain that they are not well directed. Women have come into industry to stay and their failure to organize in order to join in the collective bargain will continue to menace the bargaining power of men.

But what is more difficult to understand is why, for example, the views of the International Molders had so determining an effect upon the New York Factory Investigating Commission, created for scientific investigation of conditions on which to make recommendations to the legislature. The final recommendation of the commission which led to the prohibitive law embodied the pleas of the molders, that although core making is not "absolutely detrimental to a woman's health . . . we believe it should be discouraged and ultimately suppressed," that this work was "never intended" for women and the "instincts of chivalry and decency" demand action. So despite the absence of reasons of health and despite the protest of the women core makers involved, the restrictive measure was passed, with the result that women were practically locked out of this trade. Installation of proper ventilating systems for the benefit of both sexes would seem to have been a more scientific solution.

The desirability of this kind of inclusive action is being increasingly emphasized by our industrial engineers. Both engineers and physicians are stressing the economy of better care of all workers in industry—not primarily for society's sake but for industry's sake. This strikes nearer home for the employer and opens a fresh attack upon the problem of tired and inefficient wage earners, this time an attack by induction.

To say the least, therefore, there are solid considerations prompting opposition to special laws for women in industry. Large new questions have arisen that demand free and unbiased thought. That is if we are *really* seeking the line of progress. Our knowledge is insufficient so far for a conclusive answer, and we must have more. Let us give attention to the knowledge we have, however, and as it increases let us be ready to follow the facts wherever they may lead.

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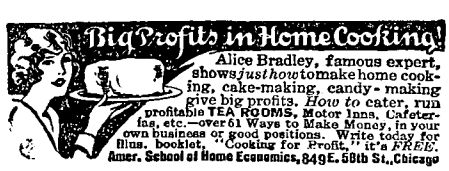
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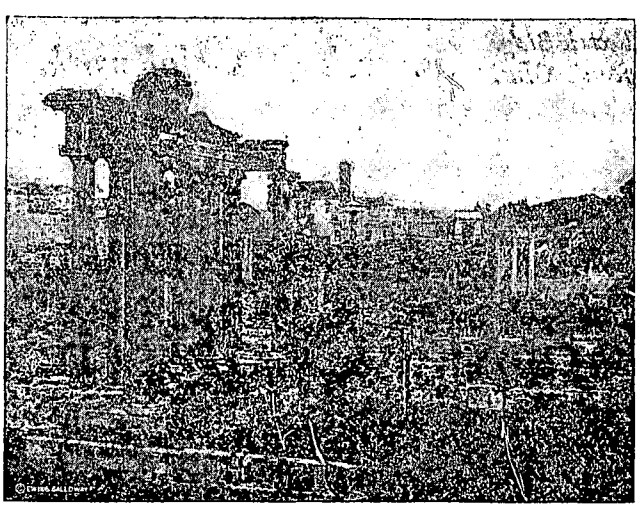

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